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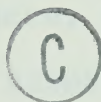
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FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES AND RESEARCH

AN EXPLORATORY STUDY OF THE USE OF RESOURCES TO CONTROL
COLLEGE STAFF

by



DAVID HAMILTON ALLAN

A THESIS

SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES AND RESEARCH IN
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The undersigned certify that they have read, and recommend to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research, for acceptance, a thesis entitled AN EXPLORATORY STUDY OF THE USE OF RESOURCES TO CONTROL COLLEGE STAFF submitted by David Hamilton Allan in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

ABSTRACT

In this study a tripartite categorization of an organizational staff was constructed and tested. The investigation was carried out at a college but the model of the study is also applicable to a school staff. The patterns of authority which are associated with the allocation of resources and kinds of relationship which different individuals have with the formal leader form the basis of the categorization. Three kinds of resources are described, Best Situational Rewards, Other Situational Rewards, and Established Rights. Three kinds of relationship are also identified, Integrative, Exchange, and Threat. One class of staff, the Dependents, act like an oligarchy at the organizational level. They get all three kinds of resources and are in an Integrative relationship with the leader. Another class of staff, the Interdependents, are the broad middle group of staff. They get Other Situational Rewards and Established Rights, and are in an Exchange relationship with the leader. The last group of staff, the Independents are an out-group in frequent conflict with the leader. They get Established Rights only and are in a Threat relationship with the leader. The Independents are also subjected to a range of informal sanctions.

A number of other variables are also associated with each category. The most important of these are Conflict, Cohesiveness, and Leader's Dependency. The model integrates

conflict into the organizational environment and attempts to show how it is absorbed and dissipated. Levels of group cohesiveness are also discussed for each group and it is proposed that the leader has a fundamental dependency on the middle (Interdependent) group of staff. It is also proposed that the Independents are cohesive and are in a relationship of high conflict; the Dependents are very cohesive and the Interdependents share a mutual concern for organizational stability with the leader. The properties of the categories of staff and the variables when considered at their various levels indicate how organizational stability is achieved.

The study is considered to be exploratory in nature. Thus testing in one college was appropriate. An interview schedule was constructed and questions put to most of the staff of a given college. Analysis of the data was largely by qualitative means which attempted to describe both the specific properties of the categories and the underlying patterns of staff behavior which were associated with the variables of the study.

The main conclusion of the study is that sufficient evidence was produced to warrant further testing and development of the theory. Three groups of staff corresponding to those of the theory were outlined with a reasonable degree of clarity at the college under investigation. Only limited information on the kinds of resources associated with each category was produced in this investigation. In addition neither the Dependent group nor

the Independent group was perceived to be cohesive at the given college.

The recommendations deal almost entirely with the means of further testing of the model in a range of organizations but the diagnostic properties of the theory are also considered.

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FIGURE

FIGURE

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1 A MODEL: THE TRIPARTITE CATEGORIZATION OF STAFF . 50

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

PURPOSE

The purpose of the study was to develop a model of organizational staff as a tripartite categorization and to investigate the existence of the categories in a given situation. The categorization was based on the allocative pattern of resources and the leader-member relationships.

SIGNIFICANCE

There were three aspects of significance in this study. In the first instance a study which attempts to describe new phenomena, a classification system in this case, is exploratory in nature. The particular significance of exploratory studies was thus pertinent. Secondly, there was an area of significance concerned with the importance of categorization in the social sciences and finally there was the relevance, for administration, of the concepts upon which classification is constructed.

Katz (1953:75) states that the purpose of exploratory studies is, "...to discover significant variables in the field situation, to discover relationships among variables, and to lay ground for later, more systematic testing of hypotheses." The three categories of staff, named by selected terms, the Dependent, the Interdependent, and the Independent were the constructs to be investigated in the field situation. These terms are explained in Chapter 3. It is argued in the conceptual framework that these classes of

2

staff are understood primarily in terms of different allocations of resources which in turn are closely aligned to different authority bonds which each class sets up with the leader. Other aspects of the organization, such as conflict and the dependency of the leader on his staff, are also described at varying levels for each class of staff. These were the variables and kinds of relationships investigated in the study.

The essential nature of classification is analysed in a series of short statements by Simpson. He gives five bases underlying classifications:

1. A major function of classification is to construct classes about which generalizations can be made.
2. Classes are constructed in connection with a particular purpose that depends upon the kind of generalizations considered pertinent.
3. Some classifications pertain to a wider range of phenomena and permit more meaningful generalizations than others and are in that sense more useful, or more powerful.
4. There is not an ideal or absolute scheme of classification for any particular field of phenomena; there are always a number of classifications possible. These will differ according to the purposes for which they have been constructed.
5. Even classifications in the same form with the same purposes, and based on the same criteria or principles are not unique or uniform (1961:25-26).

Even though the study was exploratory and restricted by limited resources available for it, Simpson's factors were of concern. Generalizations are inappropriate in a project of this kind other than as statements in the conclusions of the study which would underlie the more rigorous stages of a research program as mentioned by Katz. The purpose of the study has already been given. It is claimed that the classification proposed is of the wide-range type. Sokal and Smith (Callinan, 1969:15) concur with the third point made by Simpson. They point out that the best taxonomies have classes which can be associated with a large number of characteristics and a large amount of information. The model presented later in the study has three main concepts, authority, resources, and relationships; three concepts of a less central nature, Conflict, Cohesiveness, and Leader's Dependency on staff; and nine additional elements. The model may have further implications not described in full detail in the thesis, such as a potential contribution to the explanation of hierarchical structure. Simpson's last two points are of less importance and may be taken as useful guidelines to the limitations and nature of classification.

As the literature of administration follows the Weberian tradition to quite an extent, authority is a central matter. It appears that the importance of authority has been both challenged and obscured as administrative studies have developed. Control in the human relations approach takes rather indirect forms associated with social

support. Simon emphasized decision making. In a range of modern theorists such as Argyris, Herzberg, Woodward and many others, authority has rarely been a central concern. The expansion of administrative studies into the new management sciences of the post-War technologies and the growing interest in policy making have likewise diverted attention to other areas. The position taken here is that these aspects of administration are relevant and the contribution of the theorists is valuable but a reaffirmation of authority as one central aspect of the administrative process is warranted. Eilon states:

It (the book, Management Control) puts forward the proposition that among the many different but valuable approaches to management theory, there is a need to present the concept of control as a ubiquitous element in the management process -- without control there can be no management (1971:14).

There is wide recognition that a relationship exists between the control and direction of staff and the rewards which they receive and expect (Marcus and House, 1973:207). These processes of control appear to be very similar to the processes of authority discussed by Weber. Blau and Scott make reference to management as regulation of incentive systems (1962:166-167) but the relationship between control and resources allocation remains ill-defined and lacks integration into a general theory of administration. The description of three kinds of control relationship places

this concept in a central position and suggests a solution to the problem of integration.

The concept of conflict has been associated directly with authority and resources in administrative studies by at least a few writers (Hersom, 1968; Krupp, 1966) but it is a concept which merits a more central place. Perrow states: "...a theory of organizations, rather than one of individual interaction should be able to accommodate group conflict" (1971:58). He claims that this has not been accomplished to date. This is a further problem which was partially explored in this study.

ASSUMPTIONS

The study investigated the existence of patterns of authority based on the allocation of resources. It was assumed that this is a very important base of authority in educational organizations but it was also assumed that other sources of authority may well be in operation. It was also assumed that it is reasonable to take a broad view of resources. Organizational resources extend beyond the materials allocated by the administrator and include the conferring of status, including informal status, and the command of a system of informal sanctions.

DELIMITATIONS

The study was confined to one college and within this to interviews of most of the staff involved in student instruction together with several persons in a supervisory capacity over the instructional staff. Only the more central

and important aspects of the model were investigated directly for the thesis, but as open questions were used there was an opportunity to obtain other information. The main thrust of the study was to seek a general pattern of staff groupings. Only a limited attempt was made to identify persons as members of the particular groups as it was considered to be important to investigate the general perception of the existence of such groups in the first instance.

LIMITATIONS

Limitations of respondent perception of the interview method applied. Part of the investigation was directed towards rather subtle matters including activities which may lack social approval. This added to the problems of reliability and validity associated with perception.

Gorden, (1969:70-84) has described a number of inhibitors to the free flow of information in interviews and at least three of these, ego threat, trauma, and etiquette were important in the present study. The first two were of considerable relevance in a study dealing with rewards and sanctions. The third came into operation if the researcher was perceived to be an inappropriate recipient for certain kinds of information, a circumstance which may well have occurred. In addition the responses from open questions may be subject to more than one interpretation. There are other limitations associated with the evaluation of qualitative data such as the informant's access to the desired data.

The study dealt with categorization but the exact nature of taxonomy in the social sciences is not clear. Some of the most frequently used taxonomies in administration, for example, have a "rule of thumb" quality absent in taxonomies in the physical sciences in which precise criteria for identification and allocation to class are frequently available.

Finally, it is important to note that generalizations should not be made from the single college studied to other colleges or schools.

OUTLINE OF THE STUDY

In the first chapter the study was introduced by making reference to its purpose and significance. The aspects of the latter discussed were the nature of classification and the importance of the concept of authority. This was followed by a statement of assumptions, delimitations, and limitations.

Chapter 2 is a literature review which is in two sections, one dealing with the harmonious view of organizations and the other with the conflict view. It is the conflict view which provides the groundwork for the development of the theoretical framework of Chapter 3. The three main areas of the framework are a categorization of resources, a statement on three kinds of authority relationship, and the categorization of organizational staff.

In Chapter 4 a methodology is developed from a

preliminary statement on the nature of the research project. The interview schedule and the pilot study are discussed. In this Chapter there is also a discussion of the means of evaluation and treatment of the data, and an introduction to the college in which the study was carried out.

Chapters 5 to 7 deal with each class of staff in the order of the Interdependent, the Independent, and the Dependent. Chapter 5 also has a few preliminary matters of analysis and Chapter 7 a few concluding ones.

The final Chapter first deals with an evaluation of the interview schedule. This is followed by an overview of the study, two points of interest which relate the findings and theory to other areas, and a statement of recommendations.

CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW

In this chapter the work of the main theorists who have provided material associated with the concepts of the study is considered. This material is divided into two sections. One section deals with theorists who perceive organizations to be entities in which the members pull together and thus there is a basic internal concurrence. The other section deals with the opposing stance which recognizes a lack of co-operation and internal concurrence.

THE HARMONIOUS AND CONFLICT ORIENTATIONS

The basic guidelines to organize the material of this review are based on two proposals by Krupp. The first one provides some justification for isolating certain concepts. He states: "Authority, conflict, and power are closely linked within the organization. These relationships are intertwined with resource allocation" (1964:176). Apart from the fact that power is not central to this study these are the main concepts in the thesis. Krupp also claims that there is a harmonious view of organizations and a conflict view. He refers to Barnard as a prime example of the former orientation which is especially evident in his statement of organizations as, "...integrated aggregates of actions and interactions" (Barnard, 1952:112). The conflict view gives a central place to conflict and power and according to Krupp it has not received as much attention as the harmonious orientation. Perrow (1972:158) supports this position, "For

all, from Weber to Likert intergroup conflict is a fact of organizational life but not a fact which is built into their models, except as evidence of a failure to utilize the model." It is thus necessary to step outside of the mainstream of organizational theory for a consideration of the conflict view and Michels (1915) is the most important theorist of this type included in the review. Among the theorists contributing to the harmonious viewpoint, Weber is the main one considered here. An analysis of conflict theory taken from Coser (1956) is included in the section on organizations as harmonious entities as Coser has not integrated his work into organizational theory.

THE HARMONIOUS VIEW

As authority is either an aspect of power or closely aligned to it, it is necessary to start with a short discussion of social power. Both Bierstedt (1950) and Wrong (1968) have discussed problems in defining and analysing the concept of power. Bierstedt defines power in terms of sanctions and physical force and he claims that it is, "...never wholly absent from social interaction" (1950:731). He goes on to distinguish power from a range of concepts such as prestige, dominance, authority, and influence. He notes that influence is persuasive whereas power is coercive. Wrong is concerned largely with the matter of asymmetry in power relations. He claims that asymmetry is often over-stressed and that actors may control others in some scopes but be themselves controlled by the same actors

in others. He distinguishes power from social control, claiming that power is the narrower concept and should be limited to intended and successful control.

The discussion by Clark (1968) in which three orientations toward power are recognized, is useful for present purposes. These orientations are, "individualistic," "dyadic," and "systemic." The first orientation is characterized by the Weberian definition of power which is given directly below to analyse the harmonious orientation. The focus is on the individual actor and his goals. The second viewpoint directs attention to two actors and tends to omit goals. Clark points out that Dahl and Cartwright assume this position. In the third orientation power is, "...the potential ability to select, to change, and to attain the goals of a social system" (1968:46). In this case the individual's power is linked closely to the social system and it directs attention to resources in the system. This is the view of power which is taken in the present study.

In order to develop the harmonious orientation the Weberian definition of power may be taken as a useful starting point. He states that power is, "the probability that one actor within a social relationship will be in a position to carry out his will despite resistance" (1947:152). According to Weber this force is legitimized in order that it can become a stable and organizing entity. There are three ways in which legitimacy and thus a system

of authority may be maintained. These are the traditional, charismatic, and rational-legal patterns of authority. The Weberian bureaucratic model rests on rational-legal legitimacy which in turn is dependent on the acceptance of a number of ideas relating to status, rules, office, the principle of hierarchy, and moral obligations to impersonal order (Weber, 1947:328-331). The rational-legal legitimization of organizational authority and the distinction of power and authority by the process of legitimization are widely accepted (Blau, 1967:300; Dahl, 1970:33; French and Raven, 1968:264). Legitimacy is thus a concept of some importance.

In addition to emphasizing the valid and binding aspects of legitimacy Blau (1967:206-207) points out that subordinate approval of managerial practices, including social indebtedness, serves to legitimize that source of authority. The practices relating to authority become part of the social norms and values of the system. Coser (1968:37) supports this view by pointing out that feelings of hostility in a context of unequal distribution of rights will not lead to conflict as long as the distribution system is considered to be legitimate. Dahl (1970:41) contends that leaders strive to convert their influence into authority and give it legitimacy by encouraging the belief that the leader's actions have the quality of rightness. Dahl's use of the term influence is similar to the term power as used previously (1970:18).

Weber's emphasis on legality, legitimacy, and authority of office as central aspects of the bureaucracy (1947:328-336) imply that the processes and practice of authority are overt. His use of terms such as, "clearly defined sphere of competence"; "clearly defined hierarchy of office"; and, "subject to authority only with respect to their impersonal obligations" stress this matter of visibility.

These aspects of organizational authority have been accepted by many recognized theorists and incorporated into the administrative literature. (Anderson, 1958; Etzioni, 1964:85-86; Katz and Kahn, 1966:207-208; Merton, 1968:249-250; Sergiovanni and Starratt, 1971:52-54). Other writers, such as Hall (1972:45) claim that authority and hierarchy are relatively straightforward concepts and well described aspects of the formal work organization. Aram (1976:33) states: "a hierarchy is simply a chain of supervisor/subordinate relationships through which direction and control takes place." The position taken by Katz is similar, "All we need is a single informant who can tell us the legitimate and appropriate symbols of authority for given types of behavioral settings" (1964:272-273).

Neither Weber, nor most of the writers who have expanded on and utilized his concept of organizational authority, have given a central place to resources, rewards, and sanctions as means of control. Marcus and House (1973:209) claim that compliance in the Weberian model is given in exchange for certain sets of benefits but this is

presented as an assumption by these writers. Bennis in a study of rewards and staff control points out that the position view in hierarchical organization is part of the "usual sociological framework" (1958:144).

Social exchange theory does give a central place to resources in the exchange processes and there are some administrative studies which have followed this vein. This body of theory tends to stress harmony through reciprocity of benefits even though the exchange is set into a hierarchical matrix. Blau (1964:6) defines social exchange as, "...actions that are contingent on rewarding reactions from others and that cease when these expected reactions are not forthcoming." He cautions against the analysis of all social interaction in exchange terms while still maintaining that the exchange factor is central in an understanding of many aspects of social structure and process. His analysis includes extensive discussion of the rewards in processes of social exchange and an attempt to categorize these rewards. Administrative settings are briefly discussed by Blau, "Every privilege the manager is granted and every rule he is empowered to enforce increase the capital on which he can draw to make subordinates indebted to him" (1966:206). Blau also points out that social exchange cannot specify precise obligations as in economic exchanges. As the relationship builds up from the exchange of small favours, trust will build up and the exchange process will become diffuse and include advice, help, and social support (1967:315).

Exchange is not necessarily perceived as implying equality in the relationship. In his discussion of reciprocity Gouldner (1960) uses the term "reciprocity imbalance" for unequal exchange. He defines exploitation this way and claims that it refers to, "...certain transactions involving an exchange of things of unequal value" (1960:166).

Some writers are more specifically concerned with exchange in the administrative process. Jacobs (1974) considers the way organizations are controlled through exchange with the environment. Marcus and House (1973) use exchange theory to analyze superior - subordinate relationships. They claim that rewards, such as job information, are involved in the exchange process. White (1976) attempts to construct a partial administrative theory based on exchange and individual considerations. Conflict is more prominent in White's study but the individual's participation is voluntary and he "agrees" on the allocation of resources in return for the promise that his own goals will be fulfilled. Behavior is understood in terms of individual striving to manipulate scarce resources such as skills, knowledge, materials and even clients, in the face of certain constraints which are always in operation within the exchange process.

Coser's extension of Simmel's work (1968) provides a useful base for the introduction of conflict. He notes that as conflict can serve group maintenance it is functional. It will only arise from the hostility towards unequal

distribution of resources if the system is not considered legitimate. If the conflict can be channelled through socially approved methods of expression, the air will be cleared. Safety valve mechanisms are recognized by Coser (1968:44) and he identifies boxing on television as one such modern outlet. Another very important aspect of the Coser-Simmel formulations is the distinction between realistic conflict and nonrealistic conflict. On the one hand:

Conflicts which arise from frustration of specific demands within the relationship and from estimates of gains of the participants, and which are directed at the presumed frustration object, can be called realistic conflicts, insofar as they are means toward a specific result.

Nonrealistic conflicts, on the other hand,

although still involving interaction between two or more persons, are not occasioned by the rival ends of the antagonists but by the need of tension release of at least one of them (1968:49).

The nonrealistic conflict thus finds its expression on any convenient object which is present by "situational accident" and as it is contingent upon tension there exists, "...functional alternatives as to objects" whereas in realistic conflict there are, "...functional alternatives as to means" (1968:50). Coser claims that Jews, Negroes, and other minority groups, serve this function of tension release objects in modern society.

THE CONFLICT VIEW

Michels is a student of elitism rather than organizational theory. His study of socialist political parties in Europe prior to World War I integrates conflict and power to quite an extent. The conflict is between the ideals of socialist democracy and the forces of elitism. It is from an analysis of this conflict that Michels derives his "Iron Law of Oligarchy." Rewards and resources are central. The driving force behind the "oligarchical disease" (1915:365) is the desire of the leaders and emerging leaders to increase their own personal wealth, status, comfort, and welfare:

In every bureaucracy we may observe place-hunting, a mania for promotion and obsequiousness towards those upon whom promotion depends; there is arrogance towards inferiors and servility towards superiors. (1915:189)

As the leaders consolidate their positions with the support and "gratitude" of the main body of the party they find ways to circumvent the open discussion and active participation of members which was supposed to constitute the very foundations of the organization. Criticism of the leader becomes a personal affront and he is free to reward those who conform to his design to make the party an empty shell, "a mere organization" (1915:376) for personal advancement. Michels claims that there is little difference between this form of political oligarchy and the usual forms which are

found in the government of the state (1915:146).

Certain proposals suggesting a solution to the problem of antagonism between the average man and the powerful agents which surround him in modern society lie at the core of Hapgood's, The Screwing of the Average Man. According to Hapgood the average man is forced to contact a large number of these agents and experts in the transactions of day-to-day modern living as he needs and uses a great range of goods and services. However, the average man is not in a position to assess and understand either the quality of the service or the full range of the processes in the transaction. To get what he wants, the average man is forced to place himself in the expert's hands. He emerges the "net loser". Hapgood points out that this process of "screwing" is not new. It has been a feature of many civilizations, and, not uncommonly in the past, the process was furthered by some minority groups at the bottom actively participating in their own exploitation. What is new is that, in modern society, the active participation of the great mass of the population is incorporated into the process:

The great accomplishment of modern America is that this minority has been converted into a majority: most of us, that is, apply our skills and labor to working the machinery by which we are exploited (Hapgood, 1974:310).

The exploited person is held in this state through the mechanism of "youtooism" (Hapgood, 1974:313). He benefits

and participates in the rewards of the system. The promise of really big rewards is held before him. This process of putative reward buttressed by the threat of being pushed into the inferior group is also always held before the participant. Hapgood does not consider employer-employee relations but his analysis appears to provide an excellent insight into the part which resources play in the authority relationship of the work place. Another important feature of this work is its modern setting in which transactions are smooth, sometimes covert in their implications, and control of the subordinate is often, but not always, subtle.

M. and S. Tolchin are concerned with the American "spoils system" in politics and administration - "To the victor belong the spoils of the enemy" (1971:323). They claim that patronage is the basis of control and decision-making in City Hall in large American cities, and in the White House. Some of the main points made by the Tolchins are that, administrators who do not know how to use patronage will get nothing done; there is a great need for leaders to husband patronage favors, and to spend them wisely; and there are critical occasions when patronage cannot win the day. The writers claim that neither idealism, charisma, nor the issues, are really at the core of political action, although the politicians find it convenient to present such a "front" to the public. According to the Tolchins obligation is really what drives the system, and reliance on issues and charisma is a

hazardous course for the leader.

Informal influence on educational decisions at the community level is the focus of Kimbrough's work. The study includes analysis of the Hunter and Dahl studies on community power. Kimbrough perceives this power which is brought to bear on the school board to be resource based, "Power-wielders in the informal established group are usually in key positions of control over essential economic goods and services in the administrative district" (1964:157). It is significant that the writer also directs attention to the matter of legitimacy and in discussing Hunter's findings he points out that many of the decisions in policy making in education are not based on legitimacy. The men in power who influence these decisions have effective channels of communication both upwards and down.

Most of Kimbrough's study (1964:150) deals with power at the community or school board level but he does report one investigation at the school level (1964:237-254). The informal influence structure of the school is dominated by a small group and great variation in the level of teachers' influence on decision making is noted.

Becker (1974) and Bennis (1958) report single studies of an empirical nature on control and resource allocation. Becker carried out 60 interviews in the Chicago public school system. He notes that the principal may use a considerable range of rewards and sanctions:

Some things are desired by teachers while others are disliked - some rooms are better than others, some equipment newer, etc. By distributing the desired things to a given teacher's disadvantage the principal can effectively discipline him (1975:387).

Crucial situations arise in the school which place severe forms of informal punishment in the hands of the principal. There are, for example, disputes between the teacher and the parent and in the area of teachers' authority over the children. In these kinds of situations the principal has some leeway as to how he will direct his support.

The Bennis study was carried out in a hospital. It identifies a reward system and studies the use of the reward system and effective influence of supervisors. It is concluded that, "...people do what they are rewarded for doing" and that, "...power does not reside in established positions of authority of the organization" (1958:154).

The Becker study discussed above is one of the few which includes analysis of rewards and sanctions yet these two factors tend to go together in social situations. Vaughn (1975) recognizes certain weapons of restraint in the modern American public service organizations. These techniques, of which the best known is, "sending to Siberia" exist in the grey areas between legality and illegality. Vaughn claims that they are a "monopoly of management" (1975:13). Some of the tactics, such as making an undesirable employee's job redundant are quite complex and lead to extensive scheming

and manipulation by the administration (1975, 16-19). These kinds of practices lie at the core of a conflict view of organizations.

CHAPTER 3

CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

The tripartite categorization of staff is presented in this chapter. It has been built on a categorization of resources and is closely aligned to three kinds of authority relationships. These two matters are discussed first. The chapter is thus divided into three parts. The categorization is developed in terms of a college staff but a school situation is more or less equally applicable. As the possibilities for the development of a hierarchy in the very small school or college may be restricted to some extent, the theory may not apply there.

PRELIMINARY CONSIDERATIONS

The tripartite categorization can be regarded in two basic ways, as an attempt to extend Michel's work, or, as an attempt to solve some of the fundamental problems of a conflict model of organizational theory. In the former viewpoint, the elite, a stable group at the top of the organizational structure is complemented by two further stable groups and the three groups constitute the whole structure of the organization. In the latter viewpoint the fundamental problem is the integration of conflict. Taken from either point of view the development of the categorization is a rejection of many of the propositions of the harmonious view of organizations in favour of those of the conflict view. In doing this it is necessary to solve a number of problems which are apparent from a consideration

of the literature review. There are problems in three main areas.

1. Conflict. The general view of work organizations taken here is not greatly at variance with Chamberlain's claim that functional interdependence, the symbiotic state, is both necessary and unavoidable in the modern exchange economy (Krupp, 1964:172). The problem therefore relates to the incorporation of the conflict phenomena into the symbiotic state of the organizational staff.

2. Exchange Theory. The problem in the use of exchange theory as a basis for an organizational theory is that the weaker partner in reciprocity imbalance is in a threat, rather than an exchange, relationship. Great imbalance in allocation through the levels of the hierarchy and at the same formal level certainly exists but the persons against whom there is discrimination do not "agree" to take their share nor is their participation entirely voluntary.

3. Legitimacy of Authority. The harmonious view of organizations presents authority as legal, accepted, and overt. A conflict model must offer a viable alternative in which leaders are not striving to give all of their acts of power legitimacy as Dahl has argued.

The tripartite categorization of staff attempts to give a solution in all of these areas as well as meeting the requirements of viable organizational theory. As the categorization is based on authority relationships and

resources, the identification of different kinds of resources and different kinds of leader-member relationships are central in its development.

ORGANIZATIONAL RESOURCES

A fairly large number of modern, recognized theorists who have synthesized material in the administrative field give scant or indirect attention to the matter of resources and control (Mouzelis, 1975; Silverman, 1976; Perrow, 1972). A broad view is taken here of organizational resources. In concurrence with Becker's proposals it includes both rewards and sanctions and the subtle advantages which leaders may take of crisis situations as well as of rules and privileges as pointed out by Blau. Dreeben (1968:39) referring to class control supports this position:

...grades, compliments, admonitions, chastisements in exchange for desirable conduct...friendly greetings, gentleness, sympathy, sarcasm, bitchiness, and so on through the whole gamut of words and gestures and postures indicating approval and disapproval. All represent resources at the teacher's disposal, used consciously or unconsciously.

However, all of the rewards are not under the leader's control and the intrinsic rewards of teaching associated with the ongoing teacher-student relationship tend to be an "in classroom" factor. In addition if the leader does not realize that a member has a desire for a particular outcome it is not considered as part of the mechanism of control for present purposes. The same applies to sanctions. Members

must be aware of the kinds of sanctions which the leader may invoke before they will have any influence on the control patterns of the organization.

Litterer points out that certain aspects of authority are not now under the control of the immediate superior, "A generation ago...a supervisor, such as a foreman might not have had anywhere near the same number of constraints or limitations on his ability to distribute rewards" (1965:285-286). In spite of these restrictions managers still regard themselves as people who have to have control and who have to get things done. They are not unlike the teachers described by Shipman:

Teachers have to employ rewards and sanctions to get things done in the closely packed arena of school. They do this whether the pupils see the sanctions as legitimate or not (1975:125).

These limitations have been accompanied by a great increase in the demand for commodities and services and the expectation by staff that many of these demands will be met in the work place. The end result is that resources are essentially scarce. It is for this reason that many kinds of supplies, together with social and psychological processes are drawn into the "resource vacuum" of the organization where they are used, at considerable cost in terms of goal distortion and individual welfare, to support authority and motivation. Thus organizational authority follows the lines of allocation of resources, as claimed by several conflict

theorists, and the hierarchy is a system of decreasing access to resources, top to bottom.

The increasing strength of teachers' associations in the last few decades and the establishment of an expanding spectrum of teachers' rights has also led to an increase in the use of the more latent forms of sanction. When rights of hiring and firing were clearly invested in the manager, as in the Prussian bureaucracies which Weber considered to some extent as examples, an unsatisfactory employee was simply dismissed. In this former era the sources and symbols of leader's authority were more overt. In the modern organization formal sanctions demand clear cut cases if expensive litigation is to be avoided for both parties. The modern leader's control over the informal techniques is really a kind of resource.

There have been several attempts to classify the rewards and benefits which members may expect from the organization. Reference has already been made to Blau's typology. Herzberg (1973) distinguishes "hygiene factors" and "motivators". The two factors arise from Herzberg's claim that man has two sets of needs. The hygiene factors are associated with the avoidance of pain and the motivators with growth. Katz (1964) also uses two categories, individual reward for individual effort and system rewards which apply across the board to all members. Katz states that differentiation in regard to the latter is based mainly on seniority. The categorization which is given below

includes more subtle or less overt factors than those mentioned by Katz. The three categories are, Established Rights, Best Situational Rewards, and Other Situational Rewards. No attempt is made to be exhaustive in terms of the items in a category at this stage.

It is now appropriate to deal with the definitions of resources, authority, and power.

DEFINITIONS

Resources Resources refer to the total range of goods and outcomes, that is money, materials, status and other rewards and sanctions, which are distributed through fixed allocations associated with the hierarchy of the organization.

Authority Authority, for the purposes of this study, is the ability, derived from the resource allocation structure of the organization, to control behavior by reward and sanction.

Power Power, for the purposes of this study, refers to actions by groups and persons to improve their directive status over the allocation structure of the organization.

Power thus refers to change and authority refers to stability as in Krupp's formulations. The definition of authority is very similar to that given by Bennis (1958:144) and both definitions rest to a large degree on Bennis and Krupp. The latter notes that, "The distribution of resources within the organization may express the structure of

managerial authority or the outcome of the contest over this structure" (1964:173). It is also considered that the term, authority, should be retained for day-to-day control processes based on resources in the organization irrespective of whether or not these are legitimate. Blau (1967:207) has noted this problem and he suggests that control resting on individual obligation of subordinates is not authority as it does not rest on shared values. However, the right of everyone to get what he reasonably can, may be recognized in a tacit manner throughout the organization.

CATEGORIZATION OF RESOURCES

ESTABLISHED RIGHTS

The established rights which the teachers in public educational services have result from contractual agreement, as far as the Canadian situation is concerned. They are similar to Katz's system rewards except that the teacher's right to these is emphasized here. They refer to salary, sick leave, recreational leave, all at fixed levels. These levels are fixed on first appointment and adjusted from time to time by negotiation or promotion. An important point about this group of rewards in teaching is that they are not available to the principal as a means of control as they are set and determined elsewhere at given recognized levels. In general these resources are not contingent on the local situation although there may be small differences in salary from one college to another for the same level of qualification and experience.

BEST SITUATIONAL REWARDS

This category of rewards depends on the operation of certain aspects of the theory of elitism within the college staff. The aspects in question are the exclusive rewards of the elite as described by Smith (1976) in his analysis of the new privileged class at the upper levels of Russian Society. They are also the means of control in the discussion of goods and symbols given by Lasswell (1936). The formal hierarchy is a useful guide as to the members who may have the oligarchical orientation towards these rewards

but some staff of low formal rank may also have in-group status (Blau and Scott, 1962:98) and there are variations in amount of in-group status among the formally promoted at any one level. In-group membership, access to the means of control of the organization, and support for promotion are important resources in this group. The matter of promotion can be supported by reference to Michels (1915:104 and 189) who describes how the party leaders escape from the stricture of election to higher posts in their organization and implement promotion of persons to whom they are attracted. There are other rewards in this group which follow from the in-group status and the need for control. A good example is chairman of important college committees.

Unlike the Established Rights, Best Situational Rewards are not automatically transferable to a new job but they are frequently transferred in practice by the process of recommendation or reference.

OTHER SITUATIONAL REWARDS

These refer to certain kinds of favours of less importance than those in the preceding group. Blau (1967:206) notes that there is a range of benefits a manager can bring to subordinates beyond those which his official duties require him to perform for subordinates. Some of these benefits rest on the manager's access to higher echelons and in this respect the average employee is quite like Hapgood's average man. An example of a resource which the principal has in this category is the facilitation of

the member's application for a number of benefits such as attending conferences and getting funds for professional development, if these are matters which require approval from above. There is also a range of sundry favours, such as the ones described by Becker, which are more directly under the principal's control. These include the allocation of subjects, rooms, teaching times, and office space, and permission to use college equipment for personal purposes, and so on beyond the basic minimum, as long as it does not infringe on the exclusiveness of elite reward. They are not transferable nor are they "earned" like the Best Situational Rewards. In the case of most staff it is taken for granted that they will be there.

AUTHORITY RELATIONSHIPS

Boulding (1969:285) claims that the exchange relationship is not the only human relationship which is capable of producing differentiation, division of labour, role structure, communication patterns and all the other marks of organizational development. He distinguishes two further factors which have the property of organizing social systems, the threat relationship and the integrative relationship. All three kinds of relationship are incorporated into the present framework. If Boulding's systems are used to analyze authority it follows that the integrative relationship may refer to an in-group and the threat orientation to a non-conforming group, whilst others in the middle are in the exchange form of relationship. Boulding points out that pure forms of these relationships are not to be found.

The threat relationship, if considered in regard to authority, appears to be similar to Etzioni's coercive power in organizational control (1964:60). It is pertinent that Etzioni claims that the means of control varies according to rank. The lower ranks are subjected to more alienating means as for example, guards and prisoners. This supports the arguments here except that formal rank is not sufficient to define actual rank. Persons of the same formal rank can be involved in quite different kinds of authority relationships. There may appear to be a case for considering the in-group as being in a closer exchange relationship with

the leader than the middle group but integrative refers to a state in which there is, "...similarity in value or utility functions over the domain of various states of the world in the minds of the parties concerned" (Boulding, 1969:286). This convergence of values, aims, and interests is quite in accordance with Michels' description of the nature of the oligarchy. The exchange relationship as used here is held to imply something more distant and formal in the dyad. It is closer to economic exchange or reciprocity which stresses mutual dependence, a reciprocity of services, "...the pattern of exchange through which mutual dependence of people, brought about by the division of labour, is realized" (Gouldner, 1960:169). Inasmuch as exchange exists between the in-group member and the leader it stresses togetherness rather than division. It is argued that the exchange relationship of the middle group of staff, a large group, between the elite and the dissenters, is the basis of functional interdependence in the organization.

In further support of the interpretation of a college staff as falling into three groups on the authority-resource schema, reference is again made to Michels and Hapgood. Michels uses the terms oligarchy, mass for the main body of the party, and discontents. His main focus is on the oligarchy and its interaction with the party members. The members who are continually dissatisfied are recognized, from time to time by Michels, as a separate element from the main body of the party. They do not constitute a serious

threat to the powerful oligarchy. The state and status of these groups in the political party is similar to the present conceptualization. Hapgood perceives society to be divided into three groups on the matter of allocation of goods and services. His terms are net winners, the average man, and the poor. The latter stand outside the basic division of wealth and they know where they stand. This typology corresponds in certain ways to the typology of staff which will be presented, as one group of staff only receives certain basic rewards and does not participate in the division of many kinds of possible extra benefits.

The higher a member gets in the organizational hierarchy the more such benefits he obtains, and the more he relies on the institutional position, apart from salary, for access directly and indirectly to these goods and services. It can be argued in teaching that there is no general agreement on quality teaching and that good and bad teachers may be promoted. The situation is similar to Michels' analysis in which the best ways of conducting the party's affairs were by no means clear. In this situation the leader has room to make various kinds of interpretations to justify tactics which will serve interests of personal advancement. It follows that what teachers give in the teaching process may not be important in understanding promotion. A more useful focus may be on the various forms of relationships which are set up and on the allocative process associated with these relationships.

The procedures which place the new member in a particular relationship are interactive. The leader seeks signs relating to trustworthiness in allocations. He may make small trial allocations. The member must decide in which group he will be most comfortable. In the early stages there may be some confusion on both sides but once the person gets into a particular group it appears to be permanent.

The categorization of staff may now be presented.

CATEGORIZATION OF STAFF

The three categories of staff established in this study are: the Dependent; the Interdependent; and the Independent. They are essentially interlocked into the one system. In the analysis given below it is assumed that sufficient evidence for the resource allocation and for the type of relationship has now been presented to permit these two factors to be used for basic identification and definition. The further facets of each class of staff which add substance and coherence to the group are placed under a number of sub-headings. This grouping has been done partly on the basis of reasonable association and partly for convenience. The sub-headings used are Conflict, Cohesiveness, and Leader's Dependency.

DEPENDENT CATEGORY

The Dependent gets resources of all three categories and is in an integrative relationship with the leader.

Conflict

This is the oligarchy of the organization and overt conflict between this group and the leader is very low. Crane (1967:103) in discussing negotiation in this kind of situation states that the low status upward-mobile could disagree with the superior in non-essential areas such as sport, but not in task-essential areas. Mild disagreements may take place as complete and open conformity with the oligarchy in the eyes of the rest of the staff is not desirable. Mutual trust in the relationship of the in-group

member and the leader is very high. The integrative relationship is diffuse and has passed through the stage of exchange of small favours to strong social support being taken for granted. It is similar to referent power, the identification of P with O, or a desire for such identity (French and Raven, 1968:266). In this view power is a phenomenon associated with a dyadic relationship of two agents.

Cohesiveness

Meisel claims that cohesiveness in elitism is closely associated with group consciousness and a common will. This implies acting together with shared purposes (Parry, 1969:31-32). According to Cartwright and Zander (1962:70) persons in cohesive groups share common goals and norms. The main common goal in question at present is participation in the best allocations. This is an important and concrete goal but the group is also successful in its influence attempts. It gets things done and bestows prestige on the members. In this way cohesiveness is supported (Cartwright and Zander, 1962:81). The ethos of this group reaches beyond the immediate organization to the authority which controls it.

A factor which has been associated with cohesion of the elite group in administration is "groupthink." Janis states that this is:

the mode of thinking that persons engage in when concurrence-seeking becomes so dominant in a cohesive ingroup that it tends to override realistic appraisal of alternative courses of

action" (Janis, 1971:43).

Various mechanisms which protect the in-group against critical and independent input are described by Janis and they include an illusion of invulnerability, the ignoring of negative feedback, and an unquestionable belief in their own morality.

Like Kimbrough's men of power, one can expect high interaction in the group and effective channels of communication.

Leaders' Dependency

Perhaps the most important characteristic of the Dependent member is that he is a person who is identified for promotion and advancement. It is safe to give him access to resources. It is in this sense above all that the leader trusts him. These lines of trust do not necessarily follow the formal organizational hierarchy. However, as the selected persons are given access to resources it places the leader in a position of dependency towards them. In addition to this the leader is dependent on this group for a measure of legitimization of his authority and consequently for stability of the organization. This group accepts the principal's authority and the claim that it is legal and binding. This issue is associated with much of the organizational conflict but like the upward mobiles in Presthus' study (1962:80) the Dependent will avoid controversy, especially on this important point. The elite

is too small a group to give the system complete legitimacy and their closeness to the leader is regarded with some suspicion.

INDEPENDENT CATEGORY

The Independent only gets those resources which are Established Rights and is in the threat relationship with the leader.

Conflict

The Independent is the prime focus of group conflict. He is at the opposite pole to the Dependent in a whole series of processes and factors which are integral to the authority relationships built around resource allocation. He is not permitted to participate in the division of the rewards of the other two categories. As he realizes he is not going to get anything extra, he is not subject to authority which is contingent on favour. He can stand back from the system of control through allocation of resources and criticize it. Instead of being concerned with the stability of the organization, the Independent may try to "rock the boat." The criticism which he offers may be built on any convenient issue or it may have a realistic foundation. It is a defence mechanism in the face of the threat relationship with the leader. It is through the Independent that the group expresses and at the same time absorbs the hostility of unequal distribution in the hierarchy but it results in alienation.

Alienation through type of authority utilized

(Etzioni, 1964:60) is particularly important in another way. The Independent stands out as being the object of informal sanctions. The occurrence of these rather peculiar forms of control is important evidence to support the existence of this category of staff members. The decline of formal rights and duties, the capital on which the leader can draw, has left him with insufficient room to manoeuvre and it has forced leaders to learn the skills of the informal techniques. Many sorts of sanction are possible and a number of them aim to isolate the trouble-maker.

The Independent's advice is neither sought nor welcomed and he may be deprived of the status of expert in his own subject area by such tactics as being passed over as chairman for a staff committee to serve in this area. Such a chairmanship can be given to repay a debt to a member aspiring to the inner group and thus it is available to the principal as a reward, and as a punishment, at the same time. The Independents in fact are a most useful group as far as control is concerned as they serve as an example to the next highest category, the Interdependents. In addition to not being given the esteem of their subject expertise, the Independent may find it difficult to get access to funds for conference expenses or to any part of the college budget which affects him directly rather than the students he teaches.

Cohesiveness

It is likely that this group will be less cohesive than the oligarchy. Their aims are less concrete, their success in influencing administrative processes is low, turnover of members may be high as the disillusioned seek other employment. Groupthink may apply to this group also but the phenomenon has been associated by Janis with groups in power. As the Independents lack concrete success in the influence process groupthink is neither as well developed nor as important as it is in the oligarchy.

Processes which lead to isolation appear to be similar to the masking of identity or deindividualization which is often associated with acts of aggression. The act is justified as part of a role or duty (Scherer, 1975:178-181). Thus communication between the Independent and the leader may be sparse and restricted to formal channels.

Leader's Dependency

The leader is not dependent on this group and as long as the Independents cannot make allies he can snipe away harmlessly for time eternal. There are great problems in calling the leader's actions to question. However, the subjugation of the Independents is at the source of the leader's dependency on the other two groups. The relationship between the leader and the Independent is relatively easy to manage in the case of realistic conflict but the occurrence of nonrealistic conflict brings the situation of the Independent into sharper focus. He is the

object of tension release on the part of the leader or possibly another member. This kind of conflict is, as Coser points out, unstable, and it may erupt into situations which can be perceived by all to involve elements of peculiarity. The greater the tendency to instability the greater is the leader dependent on the other two groups and the more it becomes necessary to draw resources into an expanding resource vacuum. The same pressures place an emphasis on informal sanction. They lead to various forms of scheming on the part of the leader and the in-group. It is only the Independent who is aware of the stress which such acts of coercion can cause.

As the exchange phase of the Independent's relationship with the principal is held at a low level in order to keep him out of any kind of bargaining position he does not think in terms of obligations. He may well find that his duties are restricted to the classes he teaches and his participation in the administrative life of the college is minimal. He is not a "promotable" person.

INTERDEPENDENT CATEGORY

The Interdependent gets Established Rights and Other Situational Rewards and is in an exchange relationship with the leader.

Conflict

Between the Dependents and the Independents lie the main body of staff. By the very nature of the system which is under analysis this must constitute the greatest number.

The promise of the in-group rewards, as in Hapgood's "youtooism" and the threat of the undesirable position of those below is always held before them by the leader and this is important in understanding their situation. As the Interdependents have a middle position in many ways it is difficult to describe them apart from the other two groups but their main role is a balancing one. This is particularly important in the matter of conflict. They accept the system of rewards and sanctions even though they may be uneasy about it at times. In this role the Interdependents will both permit and contain conflict. They may encourage the expression of conflict in controlled ways analagous to those described by Coser (1968:42). The staff meeting to "get things out in the open" could well serve this function. These processes will not change the status quo and the principal will normally have no difficulty in getting out of this kind of situation, in which righteous indignation has been expressed, with little loss other than slight loss of face.

As a middle group the Interdependents may be involved in mild conflict and mild ingratiation with the leader but they do not engage in criticism of the system with the same enthusiasm as the Independents and they expect to be left in peace in return.

Cohesiveness

The group is too large to be cohesive but their diversity in viewpoints is loosely organized around the

goals of stability and maintenance of the status group. Communication with the principal like conflict, is at a middle level. These staff have some chance of promotion especially as they build up years of service or in situations of rapid expansion.

Leader's Dependency

This is the most important factor in the analysis and understanding of this group. The basic acceptance of authority depends on these members of staff so that the group stands out in regard to legitimacy, stability, acceptance of the allocation system, and the exactness of obligation they expect from the leader for performing these functions. The leader, for his part may take care to balance his allocations to this group. If an indivisible resource, such as a good office, is given to one member he can be bypassed in the next allocation of a similar kind. Their repayments, however, are in the currency of relatively small favours and they do not normally get beyond this level into the prized allocations of the elite. The Interdependents are eager to be bossed, as Barnard noted in regard to men generally, but not on the basis of recognition of ability as he claimed (1946:60-61).

Thus the focus of the leader's dependency is on this group. It implies the maintenance of a healthy credit balance of acceptance of authority, in the face of a threat posed by the Independents working to convince the same body of staff otherwise. One important hazard for the leader is

that the trading in favours cannot be brought into the open. Promotion is based officially on individual ability in open competition.

The leader's position will become particularly difficult if there is a serious depletion in his credit balance of authority as it means that complaints about his conduct will be supported by the reasonable men of the middle group. The external controlling authorities of the given organization do not like this kind of situation but the danger is potential rather than actual, almost all of the time. The administrator as pawn to subordinates (Bridges, 1970) is going too far in recognizing the kinds of forces which subordinates can bring to bear but it is not unreasonable to view the Independents as pawns.

The leader's system of authority is safeguarded in two ways. On the one hand the Interdependents have a strong orientation towards obedience to authority figures. This orientation is similar to that demonstrated in Milgram's experiments (1969) and it is noteworthy that only a small number of his subjects were able to overcome commands given to them. On the other hand the society and the controlling agents are, in a legal and quasi-legal sense, very sympathetic towards managers and their need for order and control.

SUMMARY OF THE CATEGORIES

Dependent

This person gets all three kinds of resources but the main

category of resources, in terms of understanding the group, is the Best Situational Rewards.

Relationship The type of relationship which applies is integrative.

Conflict He is in low conflict with the principal. Privately he may disagree to quite an extent with some of the principal's actions and proposals but this is never allowed to develop into overt antagonism. Ingratiation is high.

Cohesiveness He is a member of the oligarchy, an inner cohesive group which engages in a high level of informal communication with the principal. Groupthink processes may result. He enjoys the principal's support for promotion.

Leader's Dependency The principal can take the compliance of this group for granted. The Dependent does not question the legitimacy of the principal's authority but this is only a small arena of complete and assured support and of itself is insufficient to guarantee stability.

Interdependent

Resources This person gets Other Situational Rewards and Established Rights and in terms of understanding the group the former are more important.

Relationship The type of relationship which applies is exchange.

Conflict He is in a medium level of conflict with the principal. The Interdependent is free from the stress of continuous antagonism of more powerful persons but not

entirely free from the threat of informal sanctions and alienation.

Cohesiveness He is a member of a large and loosely coordinated body of staff which lies between the two polar groups. Communication with the principal is not intense and is based on the maintenance of equilibrium.

Leader's Dependency The principal is fundamentally dependent on this group of staff for the continued stability of the organization and his supervisory position over it. Authority is accepted but its legality is not necessarily beyond question. The level of obedience is high but it is not automatic.

Independent

Resources This person gets only Established Rights and may be subjected to informal sanctions. The informal sanctions are important in understanding the group.

Relationship The type of relationship which applies is threat.

Conflict He is in high conflict with the principal and is a focus of the expression of conflict in the organization. Alienation of the Independent is part of the cost of the informal sanctions used against him.

Cohesiveness He is a member of a group, which exists, except in the expression of antagonism, at the periphery of the organization and of administrative support. The group itself may become quite cohesive in the face of the stresses which

are placed on it. Communication with the principal has a high formal component.

Leader's Dependency The principal is not dependent on this group in the sense of seeking their support but the group is useful in other ways. The Independent stands as an example to the others and as a focus of dissipation of conflict. This may include non-realistic conflict and the Independent may be forced into a scapegoat role.

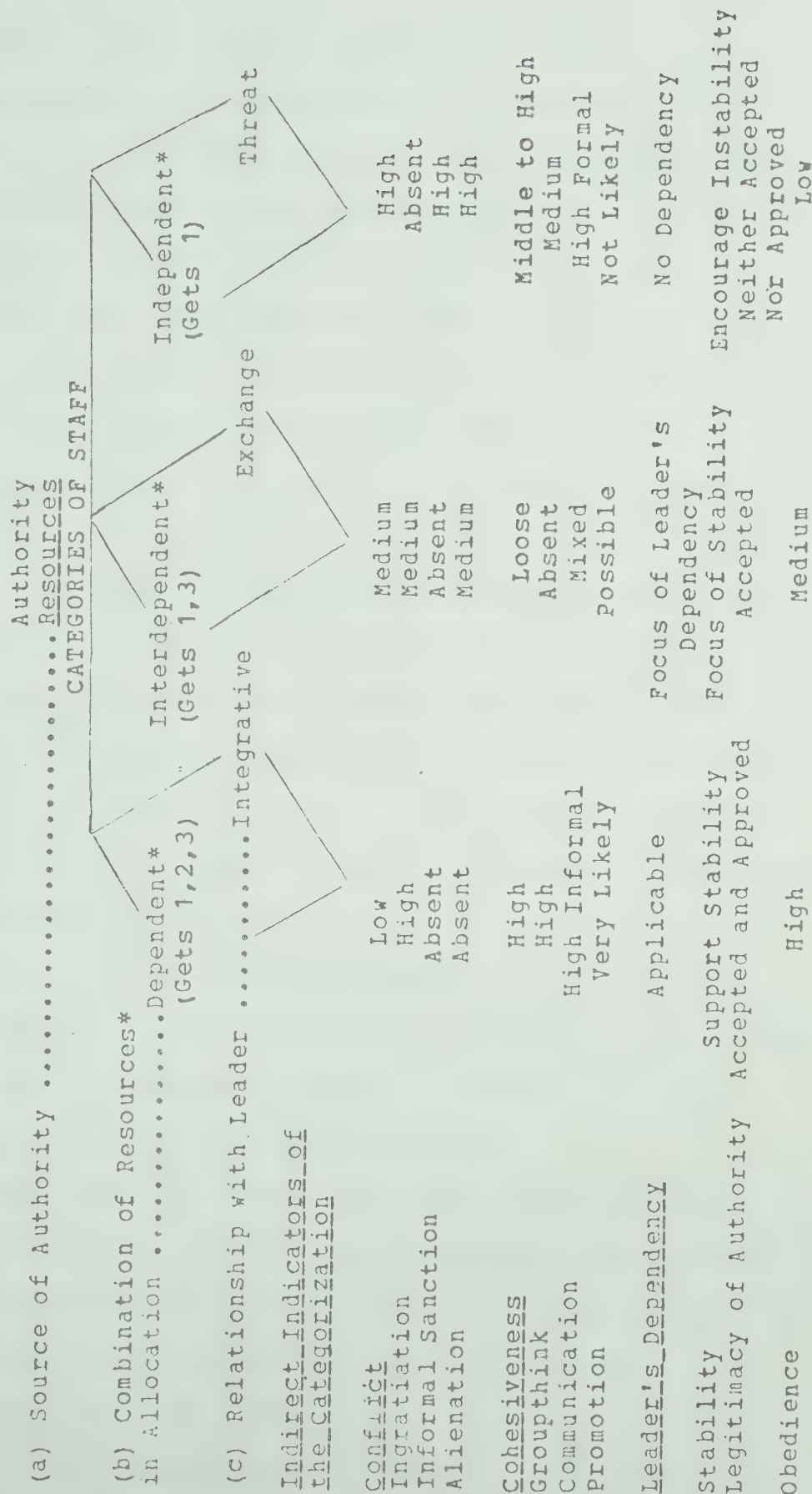
A MODEL: THE TRIPARTITE CATEGORIZATION OF STAFF

A summarization of the above material is presented in the form of a model on the next page.

The use of a model at this stage serves several functions. The extensive statements of theory are consolidated and the basic propositions and relationships can be readily viewed. As the main focus of the theorizing has been authority and resources this is the main focus of the model. The left hand column of the model is a guide and list of the phenomena of the categorization. The first element, (a) indicates that authority arises from resources. The next element, (b) refers to the derivation of the staff categories which arise from the allocation of resources and the final one, (c) to the relationship which each member establishes with the formal leader. It is considered that the relationship with formal leader is a higher order factor than the indicators of the categories; that it is associated with a pattern of allocation as, for example, the Dependent who is in an Integrative relationship; and that the

FIGURE 1.

A Model: The Tripartite Categorization of Staff



* Key to Resources: 1 Established Rights; 2 Best Situation Rewards; 3 Other Situational Rewards.

indicators in each column derive from allocative and relationship factors in interaction or in association.

The three sub-headings, Conflict, Cohesiveness, and Leader's Dependency, of the above discussion appear on the left hand side of the model as headings for indirect indicators of the categorization. The factors below these indicators are the most important ones which can be drawn from the extensive discussion above. The terms to the right of these factors are a statement of the level or status of each one for each category of staff. The indirect indicators generally represent a condition in operation between the leader and the group. Stability is an exception to this and groups may or may not have a concern for organizational stability. In addition Cohesiveness in the Interdependent, and Cohesiveness and Groupthink in the Independent groups, do not involve the leader. A key to categories of resources is at the bottom of the model.

RESEARCH PROBLEM

The research problem has three major parts as follows:

1. Can the Dependent category of staff with the following characteristics be identified?

The Dependent gets all three kinds of rewards and is in an integrative relationship with the principal. His position is also characterized by low conflict and he is a member of a cohesive group which is involved in high informal communication with the principal.

2. Can the Interdependent category of staff with the

following characteristics be identified?

The Interdependent gets Other Situational Rewards and Established Rights and is in an Exchange Relationship with the principal. His position is also characterized by being the focus of the Leader's Dependency and thus the stability of the college. The Interdependent has a central role in the maintenance of equilibrium and he has a medium level in many of the other factors including conflict.

3. Can the Independent category of staff with the following characteristics be identified?

The Independent only gets Established Rights and is in a Threat relationship with the principal. His position is characterized by high conflict and the implementation of informal sanctions against him. Formal communication with the principal is high.

The descriptions of the categories are reduced to the basic aspects which can be tested directly in the study. However, open questions are used in an interview schedule and this may reveal other aspects of the model.

CHAPTER 4

METHODOLOGY

This chapter deals with the pilot study, validity and reliability in the interview schedule, and basic factual detail of the college at which data were collected, as well as other appropriate matters. A section dealing with the type of research, from which was derived a strategy of research, and a section on the means of evaluation of data, are also included.

TYPE OF RESEARCH

The study was conceived to be basically exploratory in nature. The construction of the framework involved synthesizing and discussing material from many different sources. The basic hypothesis of the existence of a tripartite division of staff would then be investigated by examining as many aspects of it as possible whilst maintaining a central focus on resources and authority. Van Dalen states, "Before much progress can be made in solving problems, men must possess descriptions of the phenomena with which they work" (1973:184). At this stage, the phenomenon, staff categories, was in the condition of being described only with reference to the literature and the researcher's observations as a member of a college staff for quite an extensive period. Thus it may be indicated that the study was, in Van Dalen's terms, a descriptive one in which qualitative data would be sought and analysed.

Selltiz et al (1959, 50-67) discuss both exploratory

and descriptive studies as well as other types which were not relevant. These two types have the following purposes: Exploratory to gain familiarity with a phenomenon or to achieve new insights into it, often in order to formulate a more precise research problem or to develop hypotheses. Descriptive to portray accurately the characteristics of a particular individual, situation, or group (Selltitz et al, 1959:50) .

The writers also point out that many studies do not fall neatly into any single category. The present study was conceived to be exploratory in Selltitz's terms with some leanings toward a descriptive study. According to Selltitz et al the exploratory study may simply gather information and should include analysis of as many aspects of the study as possible. The design for this kind of study must have some flexibility and all of these matters were appropriate to the present stage of theorizing on the categories of staff. The flexibility was achieved by utilizing an open-ended interview schedule and by retaining a number of concepts in the model which were not a direct focus of the interview.

The stage of development of the theoretical framework was sufficient to justify the method suggested rather than the more basic stage of saturation-type case study in which the variables relating to the problem are not identified (Van Dalen, 1973:208). The method used may suggest further variables which can be associated with resource authority, or raise problems with some of the variables integrated into

the theory.

Strategy of Investigation

These statements set basic guidelines for a strategy of investigation whose function is to attempt the description of the phenomena, categories of staff. In discussing research into social problems, such as control, Glaser claims that the collection of qualitative data has a "distinctive relevance" (1969:217):

Because these areas raise problems of secrecy, sensitivity, taboo topics, and stigma and legality, and because people in these situations are usually adept at covering the facts where necessary, often the only way a researcher can obtain any data, or data that is accurate, is some combination of observing what is going on, talking in rather loose, sharing fashion with the people in the situation...

Glaser goes on to discuss different approaches to the analysis of qualitative data. He describes four basic methods depending on the aim of the research. This may be to test "provisionally" a hypothesis; generate new theoretical ideas; use analytic deduction which is associated with theory on the causes of specific phenomena; and perform constant comparison which is designed to generate theory more systematically than the second method. The theoretical model has already been generated in the present study. The requirements of analysis were closest to the first method given by Glaser but it was a tentative rather than a systematic approach to testing. In this case the

construction of open questions for an interview schedule had an affinity with Glaser's loose and sharing talk and the varied use of probes was considered appropriate depending on the particular respondent.

In the long run a categorization can be subjected to testing associated with the exclusiveness and independence of the categories but the description of the categories is a pre-requisite to this process.

The remainder of the matters pertaining to strategy arose from the nature of the model. The questions were constructed around the respondent's view of the whole college situation rather than individual experience. The latter was certainly relevant but it posed too much of a threat to approach it directly in an interview in which the respondent was faced with an unknown outsider.

Several directions of questioning were apparent from the model. There were three basic areas; resources, relationship with leader, and indirect indicators. From there it was desirable to extend questioning either up or down the vertical axis, or across the model to show variations in allocation, different relationships or different levels of Conflict, Cohesiveness, and Leader's Dependency. A very large number of questions could be derived from this procedure, but interviews of this type are normally restricted to about one hour.

In order to rationalize this situation it was decided that the five main concepts of the model; resources,

relationships with leader, Conflict, Cohesiveness, and Leader's Dependency should each constitute a section of the interview schedule. The interview schedule is given in Chapter 5. In the section on Conflict emphasis was given to the Independent; on Cohesiveness to the Dependent; and on Leader's Dependency to the Interdependent.

All respondents were asked the same set of questions plus probes where these were used to clarify a question. However, further questioning and probes on any particular topic of study were utilized as the opportunity arose.

It was also decided that the questions of this schedule could not all be neutral. Such questions would necessitate an excessive amount of explanation from the interviewer. The theorizing had a definite thrust into a complex area and the interview must have a certain amount of flow or little coherent information would have been produced. To counteract the direction of the interview full advantage was taken of the range of possibilities of questioning which arise from the model. Questions which described a circumstance and sought a response were offset by others in which there was opportunity for free comment. Two hypothetical questions were added after the pilot test. Irregularity in the approach to questioning, rather than regularity may be a keynote in exploratory study.

One problem remained. Even if the respondents did give evidence of groupings of staff they would not necessarily be referring to the same individuals in the groupings. It was

decided that respondents would not normally be asked to identify staff by name as a member of a particular category. However, attempts were made later to deal with this problem in a second short interview with communicative respondents.

INTERVIEW SCHEDULE: VALIDITY AND RELIABILITY

Gorden (1969:59) notes that the basic problem in interviewing is, "one of maximizing the relevance, validity, and reliability of the communication in both directions." Relevance and reliability received attention in trials and discussion of the schedule and in the pilot test. The skill of the interviewer almost certainly improved in these sessions. The inhibitors and facilitators of communication (Gorden, 1969) are relevant. Some inhibitors have been mentioned as limitations. Examples of facilitators are fulfilling expectations, sympathetic understanding, and catharsis. Good (1972:250) claims that task involvement on the part of the respondent increases validity. Every effort was made to direct the facilitators of communication towards this end. In the face of certain bias in direction of the schedule and interviewer bias, empathy with every respondent was essential and this was practised as far as possible. Biases of these kinds do not necessarily imply bias in the analysis of the data. Mannheim states:

The problem lies not in trying to hide these perspectives or in apologising for them, but in inquiring into the question of how, granted these perspectives knowledge and objectivity are still possible (1969:296).

Systematic treatment and evaluation of the data appeared to be the best solution to this problem.

Another possible problem was that the questions dealt with many basic aspects of an environment familiar to the respondent. In this situation unconscious behavior may result (Gorden, 1969:82-83). An attempt was made to deal with this problem by seeking to trigger a reflective approach from the respondent in the first question.

Questions 7, 16, 20, and 26 were specifically designed to serve an anchoring function by relating the various aspects of the schedule to resource allocation and the control relationship.

PILOT STUDY

The interview schedule was pilot tested in two colleges. Seven respondents were interviewed in the first college and five in the second. A number of adjustments were made and most of them were tested in the second college. The main adjustment was to move the section on resource and reward allocation from the first position in the interview schedule to the third one in order to avoid starting the interview with the more threatening aspects of the investigation. It was also possible to expand the number of questions from 22 to 26 and still complete most interviews in under one hour. This was done by including the section on Principal's Dependency which had been kept in reserve in the first pilot run.

Two forms of question 5, which deals with relationship

with the leader, were tried. The one not included on the final schedule was, "What different kinds of control relationships have been established between staff members as individuals and the principal?" The question appeared to be too vague but the form now given was meaningful to most respondents.

Another aspect of the questioning was that respondents perceived and described staff groupings by subject and function to a greater extent than had been anticipated. Two probes on this matter were inserted in order to test the extent of this kind of grouping as against the form in the theoretical model.

A problem of validity remained for a few questions. For example, question 24 on the amount of formal communication refers to staff who used this frequently, but these are not necessarily the Independents of the theory. In question 26 an attempt was made to deal with this problem.

The resource allocation section remained the one which was most problematical. In the pilot study an attempt was made at question 8 to elicit a list of resources but many respondents were very hesitant on this matter. The question was finally asked in the direct manner. A hypothetical question, Number 12, was used to deal with one aspect of allocation and also the matter of informal sanctions in question Number 19. The final form of the schedule represented an attempt to reach a balance between structured questions, which might lead the respondent too much, and the

unstructured question, which could be supported by probes as appropriate. Most of the responses received in the pilot study could have been scaled on a simple scale with some difficulty. In the pilot study complete rejection of any inference of unfairness in allocation and complete support of the principal were encountered twice. A list of resources given by a respondent in the pilot study was used in the final form of question 8.

EVALUATION OF THE QUALITATIVE DATA

Due to the variation, complexity, and richness in example of the responses of the pilot study it was confirmed that sophisticated quantitative analysis was inappropriate. The best means of organizing the material by qualitative analysis were thus considered. Barton and Lazarsfeld point out that research development in the social sciences is uneven. Certain parts, such as experimental design and the analysis of survey data have been developed to a level of some sophistication but this does not apply to codification of qualitative data (1969:163). These writers provide some basic approaches to the organization of this kind of material but the techniques and circumstances which they describe are very varied. The result is that a measure of originality and improvisation is frequently necessary in each new study. There are two fundamental guidelines to the approach taken here. One is evidence concept and the other is systematic comparison.

On the former Rescher states:

The looser the evidence concept appropriate to an area of enquiry, the more will the system of reasoning take the form of a cluster of interlocking propositions lending mutual strength and support for one another. Such systems can range from those based upon formal canons of evidential arguments, as with legal evidence, to systems admitting the most tentative and provisional modes of argument. However, no system of this type presents the aspect of a collection of chains of deduction. Rather, they are akin to crossword puzzles, each piece bolstering and interlocking with every other (1958:94).

The evidence statements possible in this study are allied to the cluster of interlocking propositions rather than the chain of deduction and there are several reasons for this. A fairly extensive model has been given but there are considerable limits on the resources available to conduct research. The choice of types of questions from the model was one of many possible routes. It was not considered likely that the three groups of staff would stand out equally clearly in all organizations but this research was restricted to one college. Thus the best that could be expected was bolstering and interlocking pieces. A failure to find a reasonable number of such pieces would imply that the model should be critically examined.

The technique of systematic comparison is held by Barton and Lazarsfeld to be applicable to the small number of cases, natural situations, and situations in which, "...one cannot be certain that other factors are equal for the various cases beyond those factors specifically

analysed." (1969:189). Systematic comparison in this research involved the acceptance or rejection of the proposition in a given question together with a second axis of comparison associated with the attitude of the participants towards the administration of the college. The second means of comparison is fully explained in the next chapter. It involves the construction of two matrix formulations, a technique described by Barton and Lazarsfeld (1969:192-196). The persons at the core of a matrix are the most useful informants. In Dean's terms they are the most sensitive to the area of discussion and they most readily give information. Examples of these kinds of informants are the naturally reflective, the frustrated, the person with a need to talk, and the subordinate who has gained insights through adapting to superiors (Dean and Eichhorn, 1969:143).

A range of other mechanisms were used to evaluate the responses. These included the use of qualitative indicators, deviations from expected behavior, and awareness of the visibility bias of the spectacular example (Barton and Lazarsfeld, 1969). Dean and Whyte (1969:105-115) deal with this problem of truth in response. They point out that the interviewees' replies may be influenced by ulterior motives, bars to spontaneity, desire to please, and idiosyncratic factors which blind the informant to aspects of the subject. A range of defense mechanisms used by informants is discussed by Argyris (1969). They include problem denial, silent treatment, stalling, and protective forgetting.

The appraisal of conflicting responses of the interviews has some similarity to the problem of conflicting evidence in jurisprudence. Osborn dismisses the idea that the result of a trial should be like the result of an election in the case of equal numbers of witnesses on each side. He recommends appeal to the intelligence through, "scientific, illustrated, rational testimony" (1975:35). On the same matter of quality of testimony he states that, "...there are evidences of truth and untruth in appearance, in voice, in attitude, in manner, as well as in the matter of testimony as it comes from living witnesses in court" (1975:23). The researcher was not a trained attorney and his post of enquiry was not the court but it was deemed possible to recognize some of the more blatant examples of this kind.

A number of aspects of perceptual distortion of observers are very important in assessing the responses. Newman and Newman (1965:53-73) discuss limitations in perceptual capacity and give numerous examples of the cause of over-emphasis and under-emphasis. These and several other indices of credibility were used as appropriate in the data analysis. In summary a note from Gibson on credibility in the social sciences is relevant:

We speak of having a sympathetic understanding of our fellowman, of finding a meaning in their activities, of grasping intuitively how they feel, what their plans are, what they are driving at, and we do not speak in the same way of inanimate objects (1960:49).

These kinds of considerations can be used with a

systematic treatment of data. In this case they place the responses from open-ended questions into a framework which will facilitate meaningful analysis. The kind of analysis was consistent with exploratory study. It was deemed an adequate analysis to set the stage for later stages of more systematic investigation and testing.

TREATMENT OF DATA

There were two basic stages in the treatment of the data. The first was to transcribe the main statements of response of each question from the audio-tapes to columns under appropriate headings. There were from one to three headings per question and the headings were formulated by trial and error to some extent. Question 3, for example had three headings, "Middle group perceived?" "Readily perceived?" and "Size of groups." Adequate space was allowed for remarks and notes at the right of these sheets. As far as possible the respondents' actual words were transcribed at this stage. Consideration was given to emphasis detected in the responses.

The next stage was to make a sheet for each question with all respondents listed on it. Each response was now placed in a column as to whether it was positive, negative, or indeterminate, and further notes were made on any significant matter. Responses which were difficult to categorize due to hesitance and contradiction were placed in the indeterminate category. This has given a rather large number of indeterminate responses for some questions.

Certain parts of some tapes were transcribed at full length. References to the same subject, such as the particular situation of Gamma Studies, and to a relative of an administrator being given preferential treatment in allocations, were systematically accumulated.

The matrices were now formed and staff placed in them. This process was carried out after a very close knowledge of the responses had been obtained. The lists of respondents in the second sheets could now be marked as to the status of individuals in the matrices. Using both sets of sheets and supplementary notes the statement of analysis was now constructed.

A self-rater reliability test was carried out four months after the analysis of responses. Ten respondents were selected at random and five consecutive segments of information, again selected at a random point, were categorized. These segments of information came from less than fifty questions as question 5, for example, provided three pieces of information. Seven responses were not placed in their former category so that the test demonstrates 86% reliability in re-allocation of response.

POPULATION AND SAMPLE

The instructional staff and the administrators in direct supervision of instructional staff were the population of the study. A sample of 38 respondents from this population was selected on the basis of those present in the college in the interview period; representativeness

throughout all subject areas; representativeness at all levels of the hierarchy except Principal, and rejection of persons who had less than two years teaching experience at the college and no other teaching experience. One recording failed so that the final number in the sample was 37. The college was given the fictitious name of Warriston.

WARRISTON COLLEGE

Factual and background data on the college were obtained from the college calendar and other similar material and in discussion with the Vice-principal.

It was also necessary to give the Departments of the college fictitious titles. Most of the teaching staff were organized into the four main Departments, Alpha Studies, Beta Studies, Gamma Studies, and Kayvee Studies. One Department, Kayvee Studies, was innovative for this type of college and its discipline areas was not within the traditional scope of college activity. A few instructional staff were in smaller units outside the four main ones. There were two levels between the Head of Department and Principal, the Supervisor of Teaching, and the Vice-principal immediately below the Principal. Under the Head of Department there was one Senior Teacher per Department and then the rank of Teacher. The teachers were aided in their work by a number of technical support staff. The non-instructional staff were divided into a number of units under Senior Supervisors who enjoyed parity of rank with the Vice-principal. The formal hierarchy of the college was thus

quite steep or severe. The college had a Program Council consisting of the Vice-principal, the Senior Supervisors, the Supervisor of Teaching, the Heads of Department, and a representative of another program not of Departmental status.

It may be noted at this point that there had been some conflict or disturbance of some severity within the staff at Warriston. This occurred not long before the data were collected and it was sufficiently severe to merit a visit, for consultation with the staff, of external agents in control of the college.

THE INTERVIEWS

On the first morning at the college the Principal introduced the researcher to the Head of each Department and other key persons. In the first few days each prospective respondent was seen individually at his office or work post and a suitable time for interview was arranged. All of the teaching staff were not available for interviews but a further qualifying factor came into operation. Co-operation of staff, including senior administrative staff was high except in one Department. As the work progressed a lack of co-operation in the Department of Gamma Studies became very apparent. Two members of this Department did not keep interview appointments or made apologies in a situation in which there was some reason to believe that forgetfulness was not the probable reason for failure to attend. Another time was arranged for both members but again one did not

report on time. A telephone enquiry led to his appearance but he now showed reluctance to be interviewed. When it was pointed out that he need not participate he accepted this and departed. This conduct was quite exceptional. One other teacher in Gamma Studies had been interviewed prior to this so that two persons in the Department were interviewed but both were relatively unproductive sessions. This marked lack of co-operation is discussed in the analysis of data. Apart from this there was reasonable representation throughout the range of subject areas and the hierarchy. All of the interviews were taped and only one respondent had any uneasiness on this matter. The usual length of the interview was one hour. Three persons were approached a second time on a casual interview basis in regard to naming persons in the Independent group.

The following demographic detail was taken before each interview.

1. Name.
2. Sex.
3. Years on college staff.
4. Years of training after high school.
5. Qualifications.
6. Years in teaching.
7. Years in administration.

CHAPTER 5

DATA ANALYSIS I: PRELIMINARY ASPECTS OF ANALYSIS AND THE INTERDEPENDENT CATEGORY

This chapter is divided into two parts. The first part is an introduction to analysis, mainly by a discussion of the informants. The second part is an examination of the evidence associated with the Interdependent category.

THE RESPONDENTS: AN OVERVIEW

For the sake of confidentiality the respondents were given a random number between 100 and 199. In general the high level of sincerity of the respondents was quite striking and this adds to the validity of the study. Some apologized for not being in a more central position as far as the observation of administrative processes is concerned. Only a few respondents were abrupt and mechanical in their approach to the questions. This applies especially to Numbers 133 and 122. Number 122 did not provide very much useful information and his responses must be held in some doubt due to extreme abruptness. This is an example of silent treatment. Other respondents were extremely hesitant, or rambling, especially Numbers 110 and 158. Two technical support staff, Numbers 112 and 170, were rather far removed from the centre of administrative activity and were not able to supply a great deal of information. Two persons, Numbers 181 and 135, close to administration, the first a Head of Department, were so concerned with the problems of their own positions that they did not provide as much useful comment

on the whole staff situation as might be expected. Two other Heads of Departments were interviewed, Numbers 106 and 197. One respondent was very timid, Number 151, and one very casual, Number 180. Number 180 also had an obvious desire to please. The problematic responses were used as much as possible but much less, in illustrations of evidence, than the other responses.

Number 193, a teacher, gave a remarkable account, in a calm and thoughtful set of replies, of material which supports the tripartite theory very closely. The responses of one other person in a low status position at the technician level, Number 176, were very insightful considering this respondent's distance from the centre of administrative activity. The two administrative officers above the level of Head of Department, Numbers 111 and 176, were very valuable respondents as they were caught in a crossfire of resource allocation problems.

It was obvious from the first interviews that a basic dichotomy in approach to response existed on the staff. In a variety of ways one set of respondents were distinctly supportive of the Principal and another set distinctly critical of him. This is similar to high and low career involvement. In this kind of situation matrices which combine the range of lower level concepts can be constructed.

Matrix I

This consisted of a solid core of staff who were consistently critical of the Principal. The criticism was quite open and sometimes strong. Their outlook towards career advancement appeared to be relaxed. They had a conflict view of the college as an organization rather than a harmonious one. It was not a smooth, satisfying and well-run operation. Allocations of resources were not necessarily fair or based on merit. Sometimes their outlook on these and other matters was cynical. Some of their colleagues, and occasionally they themselves, were seen to be in trouble with the administration for reasons which were not of their own making. The responses were well illustrated and many of these staff had a large number of years of service at the college. An extreme position, the spectacular example of the Matrix I orientation, was apparent in Number 125 who provided a very well illustrated set of responses but not in the calm manner of Number 193.

The Matrix I core consisted of Numbers 125, 137, 142, 144, 145, 150, 162, 190, and 196. Another five respondents had an orientation towards Matrix I while still showing some support for the Principal. These were Numbers 116, 123, 165, 193, and 197.

Matrix II

Again there was a solid core and an excellent spectacular example. The core persons in this Matrix were consistently supportive of the Principal. High career

involvement was apparent. They replied fairly freely but with some hesitation at times. They had a harmonious view of the organization. It was at least as well run as could be expected. The Principal did a good job but there were some troublemakers on the staff. Fairness, and initiative, especially the latter, were consistently emphasized, in discussion of allocative processes. Again many of these informants had a long period of service at the college and responses were well illustrated with the exception of the spectacular example in this group. This was Number 133, who at times showed resentment at the merest hint of unfairness as well as consistent abruptness. This person was clearly engaging in problem denial to a high degree. He had a tense manner like the spectacular example of Matrix I.

The Matrix II core, then, consisted of Numbers 111, 129, 133, 138, 146, 155, 161, 163, 176 and 181. The more peripheral respondents were, 117, 151, and 171.

These Matrices were used, in the main, to help detect when respondents with different attitudes were talking about the same thing or something similar, and when they were talking about different things. It was not necessary or desirable to accept one point of view in favour of the other except in cases in which such a point of view was acting as a barrier to authenticity.

The Matrices permit two systems of comparison to operate, Matrix I against Matrix II and a basic negative stance to a question against a positive one.

Residue of Respondents

Most of the respondents described earlier as having a problem such as extreme hesitation were not placed in a Matrix since their responses lacked clarity and conviction. However, two persons who did respond in an insightful way could not be placed, even in a peripheral group. These were numbers 189 and 106. The remainder of the respondents thus consisted of Numbers 103, 106, 110, 112, 122, 135, 158, 170, 180, and 189.

In order to obtain the best possible statement of evidence every attempt was made to use the information of all respondents but the core persons in each group, plus 189 and 106, correspond to Dean's most useful informants. The core persons were quoted more frequently than the others and at times were considered more extensively.

INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

It is necessary to include the interview schedule at this point in order that the responses may be appreciated. The section headings on the schedule were not read out to respondents.

The following introduction to the interview was provided for each respondent:

I think that you will have gathered that selection of respondents for this study is largely a matter of convenience. You are probably also aware by now that I am interested in organizational studies. Before coming here I made a number of propositions and I am now

seeking evidence which will support or refute them. To do this I need the co-operation of a number of staff to respond to some questions. These are open questions so they may be answered briefly or in some detail as you feel is appropriate. In general the questions will seek your perceptions of staff operations rather than what is happening to you. At a few points the questions may be repetitive or appear to be so, depending on the line of response which is followed.

In this research I am not acting for any agent or employer and I am not associated with any public or private body other than the University of Alberta. The responses are confidential and anonymous. Some responses will be quoted in the study but not against the name of the respondent.

There are five sections in the interview schedule. Two of them deal more or less with disagreements of the staff; one deals with certain aspects of relationships with the Principal; one with the allocation of resources, rewards or benefits; and one with the cohesiveness of groups.

I would like to tape the responses so that I may analyse them carefully. Will this be all right with you?

Have you any questions to put to me before we go any further? The first question deals with the status quo of authority in the college.

The Interview Schedule

Section 1. Leader's Dependency

1. How much difference is there in concern among the staff for stability in the exercise of authority?
2. How much difference is there in the way in which individuals tend to take opposing sides when issues come up for discussion?
3. To what extent can you distinguish a fixed number of staff who do not take sides? (Refer to the possibility of peripheral involvement. Ask about the size of the group.)

4. How reasonable is it to suggest that the Principal, to maintain a balance of authority, is dependent on a middle group of staff not taking sides in severe college conflicts?

Section 2. Relationship with Leader

5. The following possible types of relationship between staff members and the Principal have been suggested within the one institution.

a) Some persons are close , similar viewpoints to him on the way the college should be run.

b) Others in a state of reciprocity or exchange in which there is mutual benefit with some dissimilarity in viewpoint.

c) Still others, distant, may include elements of coercion and considerable differences in viewpoint.

How well do these types of relationship with the Principal provide a description of the various states which exist now at this college? (Refer specifically to second part of (a), (b), and (c) to give emphasis to the whole descriptor. Ask about size of the group.)

6. To what extent would these three states, close, reciprocal, and distant, represent three groups of college staff? (Ask if groups are subject/function groups.)

7. Describe the association, if any, between not taking sides in disagreements and closeness of relationship?

(Emphasize that closeness of relationship refers to the three states given.)

Section 3. Rewards and their Allocation

8. I want to discuss rewards, benefits, and resources of the work situation but only those which are allocated by the Principal or administration of the college. For example, teacher satisfaction in student learning and in interaction with students is not normally controlled by the administration. Furthermore, the allocation of some of these resources is fixed by established right (e.g. salary, sick leave, vocational leave, and pension plan). Here is a list of rewards and resources given to me at another college: conference funds, support for tenure, support for promotion, material equipment, recognition of expertise, good timetable, choice committee jobs, social closeness to Principal, status, travel and study funds, professional and development funds. Do you see a similar set of allocations at this college?

9. To what extent is there a pattern in the allocation of the rewards and resources other than established rights?

{Ask about kind of pattern.}

10. On what basis are the rewards and resources, other than established rights, allocated?

11. How reasonable would it be to think of these other rewards and resources as falling into a number of categories on the basis of the importance placed on them by most staff?

{Ask how many categories.}

12. If there was an external request before the college that it be represented at a prestigious conference at its various

hierarchical levels, to what extent, if any, could you predict who would be sent? (Emphasize representation at all levels. Ask about level of prediction if 10 persons to be sent.)

13. How well can you distinguish a number of categories of staff corresponding to who gets what in the allocation of resources? (Ask how many categories.)

14. Describe the association, if any, between closeness of relationship with the Principal and the allocation of resources. (Refer to at least one set of resources and one relationship.)

Section 4. Conflict

15. Most organizations have a certain amount of disagreement within the staff. How would you describe the disagreement on this staff?

16. Can you give me a few examples of disagreements you have known here?

17. How much of a pattern is there in these situations of disagreement?

18. How often do such situations of disagreement relate to disagreements between different levels of college staff?

19. If a particular staff member was seen to be a trouble-maker in the eyes of the administration how likely is it that informal sanctions would be used against him?

(Examples, send to Siberia, worst time-table.)

20. Describe the association, if any, between amount of

disagreement and closeness of relationship as just discussed. (Refer to at least one level of disagreement and one relationship.)

Section 5. Cohesiveness

21. Reference has already been made to groups of staff. To what extent are there groups on this staff which have different amounts of influence over the Principal? (Ask if groups are subject/function groups. Refer also to Principal's consultation with a fixed group.)
22. How much difference is there in the level of cohesiveness of these groups?
23. How much variation is there in the amount of informal communication which the different groups have with the Principal? (Example, talk at coffee break.)
24. How much variation is there in the amount of formal communication which different groups have with the Principal? (Example, memo, letter. Ask about the relationship between paper battles and distant persons.)
25. To what extent do the persons who communicate frequently in the informal manner with the Principal form an influential in-group around him?
26. Describe the relationship, if any, between communication with the Principal and the allocation of resources? (Refer to at least one form of communication and one set of resources.)

The data may now be considered in detail.

INTERDEPENDENT CATEGORY

The Sections which deal most directly with the Interdependent group of staff are Sections 1, Leader's Dependency and 2, Relationship with Leader. A number of further questions provided indirect and less specific material which was also taken into account. The dichotomy of the two Matrices was less useful in analysing this group of staff than the other two groups.

SECTION 1. LEADER'S DEPENDENCY

The first question introduced the whole schedule as well as the first section. It had to be repeated for quite a number of respondents but once this was done it appeared to encourage the informants to reflect on the staff in a constructive way. The question focused attention on the possibility of divisions within the staff. Twenty-four informants perceived that there was variation in concern for stability in the exercise of authority. Only six staff did not see this variation and the other staff gave indeterminate responses.

A few of the Matrix I respondents saw the variation as important, even dynamic to a degree:

There is a lot of dissatisfaction with this administration and a real dichotomy here because not all staff feel this way (Number 116).
A wide variation with great splits on campus.
(Number 123).

The harmonious viewpoint of Matrix II is evident in other

cases in which variation was seen:

There is a little unrest in some areas. (Number 138).

No doubt they do (this is the whole response of Number 163).

The six respondents who did not see variation said so without adding very much useful information. However it is appropriate to give examples of cases in which the proposition was rejected:

Never! Groups are never against one another (Number 138).

Once we get rolling we're just too busy to notice much of that (Number 133).

Many respondents felt that the college was being run in an authoritarian way. Indications of authoritarianism were very widespread throughout the responses and undoubtedly influenced the way many respondents reacted to the questions. Seven respondents in all indicated in their first response that they felt this way. This includes Number 116 as given:

Not enough power going out to grassroots (Number 135).

Most don't want that authority to continue (Number 189).

Too many decisions are taken in isolation (Number 129).

Several informants identified the kinds of staff who opposed each other, for example, "younger vs. older"; "conservative

vs. most". The presence of kinds of groupings of staff, other than as proposed in the theory, constituted a problem in analysis. This point is considered in the summary of evidence of the Independent and of the Dependent classes of staff.

The main function of the next question was to lead up to the more specific question 3. Only five rejected the proposition outright. None of these are Matrix I core persons but two are in the Matrix II core group. One response could not be interpreted. Of the remainder two perceived some interchanging of persons depending on the issue:

One group can be depended on but there is also flexibility (Number 129).
There's some switching on issues (Number 162).

and four only referred to mild polarization:

Some individuals are sparring (Number 163).
It happens at times (Number 171).
There's not that many differences (Number 158).

Again none of these four are Matrix I persons. The rest of the respondents were definite in their perception of fixed groups in opposition, especially the Matrix I core persons:

Two poles, everything else in between (Number 137).

This response indicates the presence of a middle group as

did one Matrix II response:

Certain individuals are regularly against the administration. (Number 176).

A dichotomy without any indication of whether or not there was a middle group was more common. One of the "camps" was frequently the administration and other lines of division were departmental and conservative-liberal.

At question 3 only three respondents did not see a middle group of some kind, and only two responses could not be interpreted. Four of these five persons were in Matrix II and the fifth was in the Residue Group. Many aspects of the responses, as given, support the theory in different ways:

There is a group that doesn't enter with the political affairs of the college. They don't get involved in anything (Number 106).

Some don't take an aggressive stand at meetings. They are frightened they will lose their jobs. Maybe that middle group are the ones that the Principal first talks into agreeing (Number 117).

75% of the staff are willing to get on with their job without creating a fuss (Number 163). Most of the staff are quite willing to get on with their job and with the administration (Number 138).

The staff are on a normal curve (Number 176). There is no doubt that it acts as a buffer (Number 150).

Some are too busy to get involved, others don't care - they are on a nine to five job (Number 189).

Most of the staff roll with the punches (Number 103).

There is a group which isn't vocal (Number 163).

There are different levels of clarity in recognition of the middle group in these responses. The normal curve is fairly explicit but the 75% of staff who work without fuss does not necessarily refer to the Interdependent.

A range of terms was applied to the middle group, such as, fence-sitters (two respondents); neutral group; and peace-makers. Two respondents thought the polarization of the staff was a problem:

There isn't a sufficient opted out group.
There's the problem...when it comes to a crisis
the opted out group is missing (Number 110).
I do not see a large enough dormant body (Number
112).

The responses not supportive to the concept of Interdependent included the outright rejection of Number 133 and the feeling by one or two that all staff would ultimately take sides:

Some people are not outspoken but they all get involved in the end (Number 151).

All of the respondents who saw a middle group clearly, were asked about its size but four of the responses were indeterminate. Fourteen indicated by giving a number, that the size of the group was half of the staff or more or they gave verbal descriptions such as, "very large." Seven perceived it as a small group of eight or fewer persons and two saw it as only two or three persons, so that the number

of staff in the middle group does not always fit the theory.

Sixteen respondents stated at the next question that the Principal was dependent on a middle group of staff. Thirteen rejected the proposition in clear terms and eight responses could not be interpreted.

Two of the sixteen had already given the size of the group as, only a few persons, and in two further cases the size was not given. The rest of the sixteen were clearly referring to a substantial body of staff.

There was a definite tendency for the Matrix II persons to see this as a reasonable and legitimate way for the Principal to operate:

I think he probably depends on them because of their level-headedness. They are listeners and not talkers (Number 161).
 It would be very difficult if he was always in conflict with most staff (Number 138).
 The Principal is not dependent on the weaknesses of staff (Number 181).
 As far as this or any other institute is concerned it is very critical to have a group who are the stabilizing influence because it is a rare individual who does not go off at a tangent from time to time (Number 111).

The nature of the relationship and its legitimacy were viewed in a different way by some of the Matrix I persons:

The administration sees a small group complaining and a larger group not complaining. They rationalize and use the larger group - look! These other people are not complaining (Number 125).
 The middle group try to ignore what is happening (Number 162).

He manipulates the middle group quite successfully (Number 145).

There were a number of other interesting insights from those who saw a middle group:

It can work both for and against him (Number 155).
 He does not think he is dependent (Number 190).
 He would possibly vocalize a desire for their polarization, at least initially on an issue (Number 150).

Number 111, an administrator, also regarded the middle group as an unreliable and unpredictable element which had to be treated with some care.

The informants who rejected the proposition did so for different reasons but quite frequently it reflected an authoritarian stance by the Principal:

He depends on those close to him (Number 165).
 The Principal is the centre of authority (Number 123).
 They don't act to support him (Number 146).
 There is no barrier or sounding-board here (Number 193).
 He is not worried if that group does not follow (Number 142).

Summary Note

These questions revealed good evidence of fixed divisions on the staff. The first two questions did not show that the divisions need correspond to the divisions of the theory but the Interdependent group of staff was clearly

perceived at questions 3 and 4, and the respondents had no difficulty relating the Interdependent group to a range of organizational operations and activities.

SECTION 2. RELATIONSHIP WITH LEADER

The description of the three relationships was meaningful in its entirety more or less immediately, to twenty-three staff. Two further persons accepted the first part (a) and the third part (c). Of the remainder only two persons, Numbers 133 and 111, rejected it outright. There were various problems with the other ten responses.

Some of the terms used by the twenty-three who perceived the relationship were as follows.

We definitely have all three and probably a few that bridge between them. It's more of a continuum (Number 150).

I think that's a pretty good summary (Number 189).

All three are here and in different people (Number 193).

That 's reasonably close I would think (Number 117).

Very few specific insights into the middle group were given in this set of results but a few are noteworthy:

I 've often wondered myself why there is so much agreement with the Principal (Number 145).

You pat me on the back, I'll pat you on the back. It 's a matter of the Principal's personal interest or it might be public relations or aesthetics. It looks good, it might be O.K. (Number 103).

Three of the twenty-three did not give the size of the group but of those who did, fourteen saw it as large in terms such as "70%," "80%," "the bulk," or "most." In direct rejection Number 111 stated:

There is not a fixed relationship between the Principal and any staff to any degree. It depends on the particular issue.

Flexibility of issue, in a less firm expression, was mentioned in two other responses which are not placed in the acceptor category. Further problems which led to rejection included placing all staff in one category only, misinterpreting exchange as exchange of conversation, referring only to one Department or one section of the staff such as Heads of Departments, and the usual side-trackers (Numbers 110 and 158). A few examples of those kinds of responses are:

The close ones are there to some extent but not to the point of favouritism (Number 146).
I think the second one...there are no serious differences of opinion here (Number 129).
It really depends on the issue (Number 144).

Question 6 was not particularly relevant to this group. Only one respondent perceived the persons who were in a reciprocal relationship with the Principal to be in a group in the sense of being cohesive.

At question 7 there were eight instances of respondents stating that the middle group of Section I was the same as,

or very similar to, the reciprocal group of Section II. This means that the informant was referring to the same persons and that the groups of both sections corresponded in size. A further four persons claimed that the groups were the same but the size of the middle group, as given, was quite different from the size of the reciprocal one. Only five of the respondents rejected the question outright so that a large number had problems of various kinds at this question. Five persons stated that they did not know, and most of the rest were too hesitant or had not perceived the middle group or the reciprocal group sufficiently clearly in the first instance.

Summary Note

This section adopts a different approach to the identification of the Interdependent group. The identity and description of the group as given in the theory is well supported. The number of persons who described the Interdependents exactly by both the middle and reciprocal means is limited.

CATEGORIZATION OF RESOURCES

A categorization of resources was the main basis for the categorization of staff and it was thus essential to treat this matter at an early stage of analysis. The intent of questions 8, 9, 10, and 11, was to attempt to establish the categorization of resources. It was confirmed by almost all respondents at question 8 that the set of resources as listed, or a very similar one, existed at the college. A few

persons had difficulty in thinking about all of these items as resources but a more common problem was a claim of shortage of funds for travel and professional development. Allocations of equipment for teaching purposes were generally considered generous. Allocations were perceived to be in a pattern by thirty respondents and in categories by twenty-six respondents. However, twelve of the twenty-six did not perceive a clear cut categorization. There was a tendency to place such items as professional development in an important category but only two persons gave three categories of staff, Numbers 144 and 193. Number 193 had no difficulty relating the allocation of Established Rights, as a single allocation, to a distant group. Frequently it was not meaningful to ask about the number of categories of resources as the respondents did not perceive a categorization with sufficient clarity. Thus it was not possible to build on a tripartite categorization of resources in further questioning. The more limited approach of differential allocations did emerge clearly. This was used in a consideration of the responses but a fixed range of resources cannot be associated in a precise manner with the categories of staff.

OTHER SECTIONS

In the resource allocation section little information on the Interdependents was obtained. A middle level of allocation is a difficult matter to investigate because it

does not stand out. One person indicated that the allocations were at three levels, to the "overdoers," the "doers," and the "underdoers," but a more common point of interest concerned the balancing out of allocation which was apparent in some responses. There were nine instances of this, most of them at question 13:

It varies from year to year. If you are low one year it is made up in the next (Number 150). I've seen the go-getters who are striving to get things done shut down...it's time to call a halt and look elsewhere (Number 146). At one time we can justify something and it is justified and we don't get it. At other times I "justify" things we don't need so badly and we get it. (Number 155).

These kinds of remarks may result from the demands of budgetary procedures. However, there were some allegations to the effect that resources were deliberately withheld from certain persons. This is discussed later.

There were a few other scattered pieces of evidence pertaining to this group. In addition to the case already mentioned, Number 162 stated several times that the middle group, which could play a modifying role, was too small and powerless at Warriston. Number 145 stated in reply to question 26:

Some say, "don't rock the boat" and they get really angry with those who try to change and improve things.

Summary Note

The other sections of the schedule only yielded a few points of interest. This concerned what may be a balancing out of allocations relevant to the policy for the Interdependent class.

INTERDEPENDENT: SUMMARY OF EVIDENCE

The kind of allocation to the Interdependent group, Established Rights and Other Situational Rewards, was not found in the investigation. There is good evidence of an Exchange relationship in the terms of the theory and also that this relationship involved a substantial number of staff. The Principal's dependence on a middle group of staff emerged clearly. There were indications, not of a clear and firm nature, that the Principal balanced out allocations within the group. The role of the group in controlling conflict and providing a stabilizing influence was also clearly shown in the evidence. At Warriston the Interdependents had been influenced to quite an extent by the Independents. It appears that the severe authoritarianism had caused the Interdependents to have quite a lot of sympathy for the Independent point of view.

A medium level in other factors of the model, such as communication and conflict could only be suggested indirectly through the establishment of polar levels of these factors. However, there is quite good evidence to show

that the Interdependents were loosely cohesive as described in the theory.

Some college staff, the Matrix I persons with a conflict view of the organization, tended to perceive the Interdependents in negative terms. The Matrix II persons who had the harmonious viewpoint, perceived the Interdependents in more positive terms. This identification of the middle group, by two sets of persons with different viewpoints, is a good indication of its presence, status, and actions. The group and its activities were described in a range of ways which support the theory.

CHAPTER 6

DATA ANALYSIS II: THE INDEPENDENT CATEGORY

This chapter examines the evidence on the Independent class of staff. The main Section of the interview schedule pertaining to this group of staff is Section 4 but there are important questions in Sections 3 and 5.

SECTION 1. LEADER'S DEPENDENCY

There were some signs in this Section that a distant out-group was both present and active. Twelve respondents made reference to a group of this type, two of them on two occasions. A few of these kinds of responses indicating two polar positions have already been mentioned in Chapter 5. The fixed nature of the out-group opposition was evident in most of these responses. They came mainly from questions 1 and 2:

There are a few rebels who oppose for the sake of opposing (Number 142).

There is one group on campus you could depend on to take a view in opposition to administration (Number 129).

Some individuals oppose all the time (Number 161).

Some oppose on principle (Number 196).

Reference to fixed opposition by an out-group was made in Section 1 of the previous chapter. The two senior administrative officers freely acknowledged the phenomenon:

In certain areas there will be a pre-determined response (Number 111).

It is predictable as far as those individuals who would take a stand against administration regardless of what. There are individuals we can

identify and predict because of certain action taken by administration (Number 176).

The term "rebels" was also used by another respondent, Number 145. Signs of alienation of one group of staff are apparent in these responses. Comments which linked the middle and an out-group were given by one person at question 4 and by another at question 3:

He does not have to worry about the middle but there are a few individuals he will have to confront (Number 189).
The third group is very vocal but those who are that way get shot down. They are in hot water but that has the effect of keeping the others quiet (Number 125).

Comments of this kind which mentioned the normal curve as an indicator of three groups, were recorded in Chapter 5.

Summary Note.

The first section produced some indications of the Independent group even though it was really designed to investigate the presence of another group. The above comments have to be considered in the light of the staff who did not perceive polarization and groups in Section 1.

DEPARTMENTS AS CATEGORIES OF STAFF

Allegations of unevenness in allocations to Departments coupled with a variation in the influence of the Departments on the Principal were apparent from the first interviews. It was claimed by both members of Beta Studies and other staff that this Department was enjoying a period of attention and

extra expenditure. There were also some claims that the new Department of Kayvee Studies was low in influence and that a clique of the traditional Departments was very influential.

The lack of co-operation from the staff in Gamma Studies has already been noted but it was not apparent till four days of interviewing had taken place. It appeared to the researcher that a possible explanation for this low co-operation may have been that the researcher was perceived as the "Principal's man" on the first day. Thus the staff of Gamma Studies were expressing antagonism towards the Principal by not participating in the interviews. It appears to be an example of protective forgetting. In addition the Head of Gamma Studies was readily identified in the follow-up interviews as a rebel.

Probes were inserted at certain points with suitable respondents to test the possibility of Kayvee Studies or Gamma Studies acting as an Independent group. The first of these probes was in Section 2 of the schedule.

SECTION 2. RELATIONSHIP WITH LEADER

In Chapter 5 it was pointed out that twenty-five respondents perceived the distant group of staff. Apart from size only a few comments were made which added to the identification of the Independent or were otherwise of significance. Two persons associated confrontation with the distant group but one felt that it consisted of people who were, "not involved, stand-offish." Thirteen persons

described the size of the group in terms such as "small," "very few," or "10%," but nine respondents claimed that the distant group was large. Five persons saw it as the largest group on campus, others as the same size as the middle group. The extent to which this reflects a reaction to authoritarian practices and successful influence attempts by certain active out-group members is not clear. Four persons who saw the distant group as very large, also described a small "radical" or "ultra" group within it:

I see one more category, the openly hostile (Number 116).

Respondent Number 129 stated that one Department fitted the description of distant as given in question 5 (c) and that this Department was in opposition to the Principal:

I think it could very well be that the rest of the instructors take their tune from the head of the area.

Interviewer: Would you care to identify that area?

Gamma Studies, I don't know whether or not it's a deep-seated conflict between the Head of Gamma and the Principal or they are really at odds in their ideas of what is required here...there is going to be an explosion some day and it worries me.

At the same question, Number 106 described:

...direct opposition on certain issues and over specific programs or Departments.

He described a particular instance of difference of opinion between the Principal and the Head of this Department in regard to one program:

Interviewer: How constant is this? I am seeking situations where constancy exists.
Yes, I would think there is constancy and in particular it is over this program in Gamma Studies.

At question 6 only three persons perceived distant persons as a group in the cohesive sense.

Summary Note

There was good evidence in this Section to support the existence of a distant group of staff in Threat relationship with the Principal. There was also evidence that this group was in conflict with the Principal. The size of the group as given in the theory was verified to some extent. There were signs that one Department was serving the Independent function.

SECTION 3. REWARDS AND THEIR ALLOCATION

In Section 3 there were many indications of preferential allocations to particular groups or persons and a considerable number of references to persons or groups against whom there was discrimination in allocation. Most of the latter were at question 16. Apart from the Departmental references, only five other instances of discrimination could be recorded at questions 9 or 10. Examples of these

kinds of responses are as follows:

Them that's got gets. The ordinary teaching Joe doesn't get much of a chance (Number 142).

There's some discrimination against those further down (Number 170).

If I want to go to a day conference and the administration does not want me to go, they will say, "No money!" but, if one guy applies and they want him to go, they will find the money.

Interviewer: Why do some people not lobby for funds?

It's fear. If they fight the admin. decisions they may come back at you next budget. It's all very subtle (Number 162).

Some of the more popular programs are getting support over others that are not powerful.

Interviewer: Would Gamma Studies perhaps be a neglected area?

Yes (Number 137).

Informant Number 145 described a situation of three persons on the staff applying for study leave. All of them got it but two got most of their salary with it and one got one third:

He had as good a cause or better but he wasn't as close to the people with the funds...the rebels don't get the same sort of treatment.

At question 14, twenty respondents claimed that there was a relationship between closeness to the Principal and allocation of resources and nineteen of these claimed that the distant persons were getting less. Thirteen stated that the two factors were not related. The remaining replies were indeterminate.

The relationship was expressed in a number of ways. If it was not clear that they indeed meant that distant persons

were getting less this was verified:

The distant people are not getting as much (Number 142).
 The closer to the Principal the more he understands your concern and the more likely you are to get it (Number 150).
 You must know the system and the personalities involved...the distant people don't know the system (Number 116).

Five of the twenty qualified their remarks by stating that large scale differences did not exist. Number 145 was one of these and he further qualified this statement by noting that:

The radicals may be given some things to shut them up.

There were four allegations of low allocations to Gamma Studies at this question. Numbers 103 and 105 named and rated the Departments:

Beta Studies are getting, Alpha Studies are getting but Gamma Studies and Kayvee are not getting (Number 107).

Number 105 claimed it was only Gamma Studies which was deprived. Number 144 described allocations to Gamma Studies as, "played down to some extent" and Number 106 confirmed the point quoted above by stating that allocations to Gamma Studies were "restricted." In addition, Number 190 claimed that Gamma Studies was the distant group.

Matrix I and Matrix II clearly had different viewpoints

on allocations. Respondents 137 and 142 as quoted above are typical of Matrix I. The Matrix II approach is as follows:

I don't think the administration has said consciously or unconsciously, "There are the bad guys and the good guys, and the good guys merit an undue allocation of resources (Number 111).

The difference was particularly marked in question 14 but it was apparent in the other questions in this Section. Only two Matrix II persons as against twelve Matrix I were included in the nineteen who perceived low allocations to a distant group and for one of these it was a mild difference only. On the other hand ten of the thirteen who rejected the idea of a relationship were in Matrix II as against only one in Matrix I.

Summary Note

There were important implications in this Section of the type of pattern of allocation which fits the theory. The distant persons were getting fewer resources. One Department, Gamma Studies, was identified as having the Independent type of allocation to some extent.

SECTION 4. CONFLICT

Only five persons felt that the conflict at Warriston was severe and four of these were in Matrix I. Most felt that conflict was moderate or minimal. The spectacular examples of the Matrix positions stood out. Number 133 could not, "remember any burning issues." Number 125 described a number of examples of severe conflict adding that, "it could

get quite bitter." Eight persons indicated that the conflict was vertical and none that it was horizontal.

Responses to question 16 showed the authoritarian nature of the administration and this was reflected strongly in the rest of Section 4. Question 16 also directed attention to certain conflicts involving student rights in which a staff member had supported the students strongly in opposition to the administration. Number 176 mentioned the conflict area by making reference to the extra-curricular appointment of editor to a Warriston publication. Without specific probing five other persons identified this activity, and the individual who carried it out, in questions 19, 21, 24, and once immediately after the interview was over in informal conversation. In the few second interviews in which the identity of Independents were sought the same person was immediately identified in all cases. This person, Number 125, was one of the sample and the second last person to be interviewed.

At question 17, twenty-seven respondents stated they saw a pattern in the organizational conflict; five stated that they did not see a pattern. The rest of the responses were indeterminate. There were indications that the pattern was strongly established:

At times its God-damn boring (Number 112).
 Same people, same issues (Number 190).
 It is repetitive (Number 176).
 Regular disagreements and they are not
 resolved...it gets to the point that you know he
 is going to say something. You know you are not

going to like it (Number 162).
 The regular teachers versus the administration
 (Number 137).

Apart from this last one there were only a few other signs, at this question, that the conflict was vertical. There were also a few who maintained it was horizontal.

At question 18, twenty-eight respondents saw conflict to be between different levels of staff on a regular basis or constantly. Three persons stated that conflict was more usually between persons at a horizontal level and the rest of the responses were indeterminate. The way in which conflict was described between different levels of staff varied from milder terms such as, "a fair bit," "quite frequent," to "very frequently," and:

That's the biggest disagreement. Staff as a whole really get along but there's a big disagreement there (Number 165).
 Very frequently in the last year, the administration, teachers, Assistant Department Heads, Department Heads, have had lots of disagreement over many, many, many, issues and the feeling has not been a good one (Number 116).
 Very frequently ... others are occasionally involved but the heat is usually found around the distant person (Number 150).

Unfortunately the opportunity was not always taken to get the persons who perceived regular conflict between different levels to relate this to the distant group. Eleven of the twenty-eight were asked about this and nine of them, including the one mentioned above, did relate the constant conflict to a distant group:

Yes...that group, everybody knows who they are.
 I don't think they affect the bulk of the staff.
 They're not influential (Number 193).

There is evidence again that the Matrix I persons have a conflict view of the organization as all of them, except one, perceived regular vertical conflict whereas five of the Matrix II persons gave indeterminate responses or perceived horizontal conflict to be more prevalent.

Eighteen informants stated that informal sanctions could be, or were, used at Warriston against troublemakers. Fourteen said it did not happen and five gave answers which were indeterminate. A few of the eighteen perceived these sanctions to be happening rarely or in mild forms but most replied in stronger terms:

Yes, it happens. In fact it's quite predictable that if you disagree very strenuously with what the Principal is trying to do you will probably experience some retaliation at some point in some way (Number 197).
 I am sure there would be some kind of subtle reprimand (Number 189).
 It's used extensively (Number 196).
 I think this happens ... it's very much in evidence. What is noticeable is what isn't done for them (Number 172).

The subtle nature of the informal sanctions was apparent in quite a number of replies apart from one or two given above:

The Principal is going overboard not to appear to be doing that sort of thing (Number 142).
 Things would not be done to him but things would not be done for him (Number 165).
 A withdrawal of support by administration

conveniently forgetting their legitimate rights of service (Number 196).

All of the Matrix I persons except five were included in those who saw sanctions at work. Only two Matrix II respondents felt that informal sanctions were at work and they replied in guarded and cautious terms:

Maybe once or twice (Number 117).
 Oh! I, hmmm... have to feel that this has applied in one or two instances since I've been here that they got the message. Ah there's probably no specific actions that were taken, ... that could be taken to give them the dirty jobs ... like inferior time-table.
 Interviewer: What kind of actions were taken? Hinting that it would be better for all if they complied?
 Maybe the word is, "innuendo" (Number 111).

There was quite a bit of stalling or hedging at this question in other replies of Matrix II persons. Three of the fourteen who were considered as not seeing informal sanctions really gave contradictory replies:

Common sense will prevail ... some individuals make asses of themselves and the staff will speak to them.
 Interviewer: Does this mean sanctions are at work?
 No, I don't see it (Number 163).

Apart from "innuendo" and the withdrawal of support apparent in the response of Number 196 as given, twelve further respondents gave examples of informal sanction. These included the denial of conference funds, assignment to worst

teaching times, reprimands of verbal and written kinds, and even the denial of teaching equipment. Withdrawal of support, the convenient overlooking of help when it was required, emerged as a most important sanction at Warriston. The examples included one reference to specific action taken against Gamma Studies and one reference to specific action taken against Number 125. Number 125 gave four instances of actions, which he claimed were taken against him. These were very detailed accounts involving administrative and staff actions and interactions:

This year we were asked to start a staff newspaper. I was asked to be the editor of the paper and I happen to be identified as one of the radical element on the college. I started discussing some issues in the paper and I approached staff members to solicit their opinions and what have you. I got real negative response. A lot of people were scared to even reply or anything else and the newsletter dealt with some issues of concern, you know, obviously areas of conflict within the college.

Well, a number of staff went complaining to the administration. They said that the newspaper should not be run that way. The Principal went to the president of the Faculty Association to get feedback on what they felt the paper should be doing. A vote was taken and the Faculty Association supported the paper the way it was, so, the administration was caught in a bind as they were hoping to use the Faculty Association to curtail the paper. They couldn't do it, so, the other result is that they turned round and relieved me of the job of editor and the paper did take a change about in terms of its voice but they couldn't do what they wanted to do, - a heavy...

Interviewer: You regarded that as some sort of sanction, I'll assume, because you enjoyed this work?

Well, they tried to do it as a formal thing, initially and when that didn't work they just eliminated me and put in someone else...O.K., in

the long run how its caught up with me is that when I asked in the Spring for certain things, you know, like to go for a conference, I was turned down.

Later, he elaborated on the conference:

I had a chance to go to a conference in Halifax, on Indian Rights. It wouldn't have cost the college a cent. Indian Rights would have paid my way to it. Normally they give other instructors time off with salary as a P.R. gesture for the college. I was told, "If you want to do it, take holiday time and do it," and that's what I ended up doing.

Another incident involved a claim of withholding teaching equipment by the administration. In all four accounts there were many indications of strong alienation. This is readily detected in the one given above.

The inclusion of the informal reprimand or "speaking to" as an informal sanction is problematical as it depends on how it is delivered. Some respondents referred to reprimands at the level of "a chewing out" but other cases were clearly of a much milder and advisory nature.

The following are some replies of those who did not perceive informal sanctions to be at work:

I've never known any case. Management is often not strict enough or strong enough (Number 161). I know a radical but I've heard no complaints from him about sanctions (Number 133). No, but...there are people they would like to deal with (Number 146). I think they would be more frank. They would get the cards on the table and not beat about the bush (Number 122).

No...sanctions are very difficult...it would only be token (Number 176).

Number 176 and Number 111 who were quoted earlier at this question, are giving the administrative point of view.

At question 20, thirteen respondents linked high disagreement with a distant group of staff and low disagreement with a close group. Two others associated high disagreement with the distant group but did not perceive closeness and low disagreement to be linked, and four others perceived only the closeness-low disagreement state. Two responses were against the expected direction on both factors. Six claimed that there was no relationship and the rest were indeterminate.

NONREALISTIC CONFLICT

In the first quotations in this Chapter there were several indications of nonrealistic conflict, the rebels who oppose for the sake of opposing. There were nine other scattered references which suggest that nonrealistic conflict was at work. A clear case occurred at question 19:

We've got a member who likes to stir and the Principal bites (Number 190).

The member in question was later identified as Number 125 through mention of his qualifications which were unique at Warriston. There was another very similar statement from

another respondent. The other references did not necessarily refer to the out-group of the theory.

Some things are escalated beyond all proportion...vindictiveness results (Number 196).

He does things that antagonize the whole staff. He bawled out the entire staff because a few did not show up at a staff meeting and then at the next meeting he did not show up (Number 190). I haven't received a memo for ages...its almost like he picks on certain groups (Number 116). Some individuals at the opposite end have a negative influence. The Principal heads off in the opposite direction (Number 145).

In response to question 24 on variation in formal communication Number 129 stated:

A fair amount and it's not awfully good...people affected often don't get communications. It happens so often that it cannot be an oversight.

One or two of these examples such as the reference to vindictiveness, and, opposing for the sake of opposing, were clearer indications of the presence of nonrealistic conflict than others. Almost all of this kind of information was provided by Matrix I persons.

Summary Note

There was good evidence in this Section of the use of informal sanctions against persons of the type described in the theory. One individual, Number 125, clearly emerged as an Independent at Warriston. Conflict was shown to be in a pattern. Distant persons were perceived quite frequently to

be in high disagreement with the Principal. There were some indications that nonrealistic conflict was at work.

SECTION 5. COHESIVENESS

Apart from question 24 this section was not designed to obtain evidence on the Independents. There were four indications at question 21 and two elsewhere to the effect that an out-group was active and could hold its own in conflict situations:

They do have an indirect way of forcing him to take a position which may be untenable (Number 171).

They are harassed but they are a very strong group. They can stand very much on their own (Number 123).

...they make their views known and sway people and sometimes the administration has had to back up. They are astute and active (Number 116).

At question 22 the attention of respondents appeared to have been focused on the influential group and it is possible that the question did not deal effectively with the cohesiveness of the distant group. Almost all respondents felt that both of the polar groups were not cohesive. Only three persons specifically mentioned the distant group as cohesive.

Twenty-four respondents claimed that there was quite high to high variation in informal communication with the Principal but again the question did not reveal anything of

importance in regard to the distant group. There were seven indeterminate responses so it appears that a pattern of informal communication was at work.

The level of formal communication was perceived by seventeen respondents to vary in a marked way. Eleven respondents claimed there was no variation or only slight variation and the other responses were indeterminate. Ten of the seventeen respondents related the high formal communication readily to a constant "paper battle" situation involving the administration and distant persons. Three other persons who only perceived a low level of variation in formal communication also perceived this constant paper battle state between individuals and the Principal. One person specifically identified one Department, Gamma Studies as being involved in the paper battles. The question generated some useful insights:

The rebels are in a memo blizzard and there is only a low effort to resolve it (Number 145).
 He picks on certain groups (Number 123).
 It helps some of the distant to be distant (Number 150).
 The paper battle occurs to avoid personal confrontation (Number 196).
 It's people defending their empires (Number 161).

Again a difference in orientation towards the matter can be recognized in the last comment of a Matrix II person compared to the others which are all from Matrix I. A few Matrix II persons saw paper battles occurring only rarely.

Sixteen persons perceived a relationship between the level of communication and the allocation of resources and in all of these cases it was in the expected direction. Eleven persons dismissed the idea that communication and allocations were related. A few of the replies are worth noting in regard to the Independent group:

Gamma Studies suffers psychologically in allocations (Number 111).
The distant people are not effective communicators (Number 189).

Matrix II persons tended to see no relationship and also to emphasize fairness and initiative:

You don't gain brownie points unless they are earned (Number 161).
You get a good hearing when you need something (Number 163).
The go-getters and the strivers get an advantage (Number 146).

Summary Note

The evidence indicates that the Independents were not a cohesive group of staff but there were some indications of conscious and co-ordinated activity. A pattern of formal communication as proposed in the theory was reasonably well established as described in this Section.

INDEPENDENT: SUMMARY OF EVIDENCE

One person, respondent Number 125, and one Department, Gamma Studies, could be identified as Independent entities at Warriston. Other Independent persons or groups may also

be present but they were not identified in this investigation. The evidence of an Independent departmental group came partially from the researcher's experiences and observations outside of the interviews. Thus there was a fairly clear case of a formal group of college staff acting as a group as posited in the theory. The group identified as rebels also fitted the Independent description very well and indeed, Number 125, was named as a leader of rebels. Other terms of grouping used by respondents, such as the new academics and younger staff show staff divisions but they were not the divisions of the theory.

The kind of allocation to the Independent, Established Rights only, was not clearly described and identified by respondents as associated with the group. Rather, it was quite strongly suggested in the data that this applied. The Threat relationship was clearly in operation. This was supported by the presence of informal sanctions, high conflict, and high formal communication in the group.

The Independents did not constitute a group in the cohesive sense. The two Independent entities were fairly distinct and separate and it was not known whether or not Gamma Studies constituted a cohesive group in its own right. The Independent at Warriston was a type of organizational unit rather than a functional cohesive group. There was some evidence that the size of the Independent units or unit fit the theory.

There were more limited indications that the properties

of alienation, encouragement of instability, and nonrealistic conflict, of the Independent, were also in operation.

One section of the respondents, Matrix I persons claimed much more frequently and strongly, that informal sanctions, high conflict, and high formal communication, were present in association with this type of staff, than another section of the respondents, the Matrix II persons.

CHAPTER 7

DATA ANALYSIS III: THE DEPENDENT CATEGORY AND FINAL ASPECTS OF ANALYSIS

The evidence on the Dependent group of staff is examined in this Chapter. The main Sections of importance for this group of staff are Section 3 on resources and Section 5 on cohesiveness. There are also some concluding matters of evidence concerning the whole model.

SECTION 1. LEADER'S DEPENDENCY

Reference has already been made to polarization and divisions which were detected in this first Section. There were six specific references in this Section to a group of staff closely aligned to the Principal. This was expressed as a traditional or conservative group as opposed to younger teaching staff. The claim of a traditional discipline clique was also made quite frequently in later questions:

The Principal is with the traditional clique most of the time (Number 135).
There is a slight division - the traditionals versus the new academics. (Number 181).

One respondent claimed that the Principal was more dependent on a close group of staff rather than a middle group. A senior administrator referred to staff loyalty:

I have people who trust me amongst the staff and express matters of concern that they see..."Can you intervene?" (Number 176).

There is an indication here of persons close to the administrative apparatus but not high in the formal hierarchy.

There were several references in the first Section and again later to the Principal as a very isolated and authoritative leader:

I am not sure he is dependent. He is a fairly strong individual and can stand up with a minimum apparent backing from anybody (Number 150).

Summary Note

There were a few indications in the first Section of a Dependent group.

SECTION 2. RELATIONSHIP WITH LEADER

Twenty-eight persons readily identified a close group of staff at question 5. The others except one, Number 133, could not be interpreted so that there was only one outright claim at question 5 that the close group did not exist. Again there were a few references to the close group being the small clique of traditional subject areas and one to, "the administration favouring Beta Studies at present." Nineteen of the twenty-eight gave the size of the close group as "few," or "very few," and this includes one reply of "15%," but all of the rest were in the first two terms or very similar ones. Of the remaining nine persons who perceived a close group, one saw it as the largest group, two saw it as the second largest, one as "quite a lot," one

as "25%," and four did not give the size.

Two persons specifically mentioned that the close group was the clique of the traditional disciplines but one of these is Number 135 and he stated this several times in the interview.

Only five respondents perceived the close persons to be a cohesive group using terms such as "a core," or "they stick together." Twenty-three did not perceive the group to be cohesive.

Summary Note

The Dependents were readily perceived as a group close to the Principal in this Section. The size of the group matches the theory but it was not seen to be a group in the cohesive sense. The reference to one Department, Beta Studies, getting more resources is supported by other references in Chapter 6.

SECTION 3. REWARDS AND THEIR ALLOCATION

As already noted questions nine and ten must be considered together as they did not function well as separate questions. They did produce a lot of evidence on differential allocations. Matrix I persons who recognized preference tended to emphasize favouritism or patronage. Matrix II persons either did not recognize differential allocations or, if they did, they also recognized initiative. There was wide recognition of differential allocation. Nine persons associated it with initiative, fourteen with favouritism, and one with both inasmuch as an

element of favouritism was recognized.

The Matrix II stance is considered first:

You put up a good case and you get it. It is demonstrated need...they are meticulously fair (Number 129).

Conference funds are fairly distributed. Those that wish it, seek it, strive for it,...those willing to put themselves out, will get a good hearing (Number 163).

A matter of initiative, simply initiative, just that (Number 133).

The first remark does not indicate differential allocation.

Similar ideas were also expressed in less glowing terms:

If you are really close to the person you want this favour from you have a better chance of getting it ...you've got to push around or you're not going to get very much. (Number 170).

Merit, and student and staff need were very frequently mentioned but a few Matrix I persons qualified this:

There's a double standard to allocation. Establish the value and buddy-buddy (Number 125).

Most of the money spent is on student need but a small fraction is allocated on favours. People with control over funding stash a bit away - the slush fund... it does not officially exist (Number 145).

Number 162 as quoted earlier in Chapter 6, also indicated that the administration had reserve funds. The matter was recognized by one of the administrators:

If we feel that an allocation is inadequate all

we have to do is explain why. Then there is one other thing here. If we do run out of money, and there is a need, funds have been held back by the administration which can cover these needs (Number 181).

Number 181 was Head of the Department of Beta Studies. There were four other references elsewhere to reserve or "slush" funds. The matter is taken up again at question 26.

At this point too, there were a few references to preferential allocation to a relative of a senior administrator and again this is mentioned later in the schedule on several occasions. This person was not interviewed in the study. It was mentioned six times in all without probing by the interviewer:

You hear that "X"¹ gets treated a little better (Number 158).

Number 158 was an extremely cautious respondent throughout. This is another reference to a staff member of low formal rank being given preferential treatment. Number 103 stated:

You could pick the aspiring administrators at the lower end.

There was abundant evidence, both at question 9 and later, especially at question 12, to the effect that the

¹ The person was referred to by relationship to a specific administrator at this point.

administration had a high level of resources at their command compared to the teaching staff. A few indications of this have already been given. The matter was particularly resented in regard to conference funds which some teaching staff claimed were scarce for them whilst administrators travelled around on full expenses. Staff had been told that they should pay a part of such expenses as they benefited directly:

The administration states they would like you to be part of conferences but most instructors don't have the dollars (Number 103).
They come out with the good end of the stick...the philosophy of we are here to serve the students has been turned around so that students and instructional staff are here to serve the administration (Number 137).

At question nine, seven respondents claimed that differential allocation was associated with "asking" or "not asking" for resources and three others raised the same point elsewhere. Only one of the ten associated the failure to ask for resources with certain refusal.

Question 12 dealt with a specific resource and it brought a different result to the other questions which attempted to deal with resources in a more general way. Twenty-seven staff stated that they could predict, to some extent, who would be sent to a prestigious conference. Three claimed that they could not predict and the rest of the replies could not be interpreted. In only four cases out of the twenty-five was the level of prediction below 5 out of

10. Eight persons gave a level of "8," "7 or 8," or "7," and one person gave, "very accurate." Eight persons gave a level of "6 or 7," or "6." The main qualification to prediction was that of a small number of persons who restricted prediction to the top of the hierarchy. Three persons, in particular, claimed that they could not pick out the teachers who would be sent. Some responses typical of high prediction answers are given below:

I could practically tell you right on...the Principal, the Vice-principal, The Supervisor of Teaching.

Interviewer: What about the teachers?

Yea, there's prestige lines there too (Number 110).

Automatically the Principal would go...I would say that I would very accurately predict them (Number 189).

That's a good question. I think I could predict 80% correct prediction (Number 142).

Only one Matrix I person was not included in the twenty-five and two of the three persons who could not predict were in the Matrix II group. A number of Matrix II persons engaged in stalling or circumlocution at this question:

I wouldn't want to stake my life on who would be asked (Number 111).

It would be handled pretty fairly...there are those who have established track records (Number 133).

No, you couldn't...best man for the job. It would be unkind and probably not quite accurate to predict (Number 129).

However, not all respondents who could not predict were as

reticent.

It wouldn't be me! (Number 112).

At question 14, twenty persons claimed that those close to the Principal were getting more resources. As has already been stated at the analysis of the Independents, five persons claimed that the additional resources associated with closeness were not extensive.

Summary Note

Two specific resources could be associated with selected persons at Warriston, going to a conference and slush fund. These are elitist kinds of allocations which are quite in accord with the theory.

Differential allocation was widely recognized. Matrix I persons associated preference with favouritism and Matrix II persons associated it with initiative.

SECTION 4. CONFLICT

Twenty-eight staff, as noted earlier, described a regular state of conflict between different levels of college staff. Seventeen respondents linked low disagreement with a close group of staff. A few of the six respondents who did not see a relationship replied as follows:

The close persons feel safe to agree and disagree.

Interviewer: Are the close persons in agreement?
Not always...if they were I would think it was queer. You have to disagree occasionally (Number 181).

I don't think that it holds water even though it

seems logical. The Principal¹ prefers an expression of disagreement (Number 176). The group has to support one another but they are not necessarily buddy-buddy (Number 111).

There are hints here of ingratiation as there were in two responses in which a relationship was perceived:

Agreement may be overt. Privately they disagree (Number 125).

The close don't always agree but they don't dig in both feet. They're not going to be terribly vocal about it (Number 197).

Numbers 181, 176, and 111, were administrators. Three of the six persons who did not perceive a relationship were administrators and five of the six had the Matrix II orientation.

Summary Note

The identification of a pattern of conflict is an important factor underlying the Dependent group. Low disagreement was associated with the close group of staff. Other than this only a little more information on the Dependent group appeared at this Section. A few indications of ingratiation appeared. Matrix II persons did not associate low disagreement and closeness of relationship with the Principal.

¹ The Principal was referred to by name at this point.

SECTION 5. COHESIVENESS

Nineteen respondents claimed that different levels of influence existed, twelve that they did not exist or only to a slight degree, and the rest of the responses were indeterminate. Eight of the twelve who did not perceive the influential group at work did perceive the Principal to be engaged in consultation with a fixed group. All of these eight, plus nine of the eighteen, specified influence or consultation in regard to the formal group at the upper level of the college hierarchy but four of the eighteen gave no specification.

The remote stance of the Principal is apparent in the number of persons who did not perceive him to be influenced by a close group of any kind:

He seems to make up his own mind.

Interviewer: Does he consult regularly with a fixed group?

It's a "beef" of staff that he doesn't consult anybody (Number 190).

It's minimal...No, I don't think we see enough of it (Number 103).

Three Matrix II persons felt there was advantage and strength in this type of situation:

I see no evidence of any group having any influence... I think that's been one of his assets (Number 133).

He's not going to be caught up in situations like this (Number 163).

There are some individuals who have a terrific amount of influence over the Principal and rightly so...the old instructors (Number 181).

Number 181 went on to name three individuals, two of whom were in a lower formal position than Head of Department.

Six respondents qualified their responses on influence or consultation by stating that the process was really carried out by individuals rather than groups. Six respondents mentioned influence at work below the level of Head of Department and three of them specifically referred to one individual by title. This person was an old member of the staff in a position which had both official seniority and a nebulous element associated with it. He was not one of the persons interviewed. This evidence on persons with influence who were not at the upper levels of the hierarchy must be considered along with the same kind of material at question 12. There were six other scattered references to the same matter from five different respondents. One of these again specifically mentioned the relative at question 12.

Ten of the respondents who perceived an influential or advisory process associated with the Principal, stated that this was a cohesive group. Eighteen persons who had perceived either an influential or a consultative group at work claimed that it was not cohesive. This strengthens the idea that much of the direction of the college was carried out by a single remote individual. Three Matrix I staff identified a close cohesive group around the Principal and also three from Matrix II.

As already noted quite high, to high, variation in

informal communication with the Principal was seen by twenty-four persons. Six claimed low variation and the rest of the responses were indeterminate. Again there were signs of the Principal's isolation:

He does'nt really socialize with anybody (Number 129).

He's not particularly sociable (Number 180).

I've seen people leave the room when he enters (Number 123).

He tends to relate only to one or two individuals (Number 197).

Only five of the persons who perceived reasonably high variation in informal communication were in Matrix II.

One respondent mentioned that a high level of formal communication was associated with an administrator close to the Principal. This was a case in which the administrator, "just likes to use memos."

Only eight respondents associated high informal communication with influence on the Principal. Twenty rejected the association outright and the rest were indeterminate. Nine responses support the view of the Principal as a remote independent person:

Attempts to influence the Principal go negatively (Number 110).

He stands alone but its not of his choice (Number 161).

He's his own man (Number 112).

There's not a group like that (Number 106).

Only one, the Vice-principal (Number 181).

At the last question, as already noted, sixteen persons

perceived that a high level of communication with the Principal could be associated with a high allocation. Some of the respondents were referring to effective communication:

Yes....I would say so if you are particularly good at justifying and convincing (Number 129). If you can convince the Principal of a good idea, O.K....If you need funds and have a good argument and some people can do this better (Number 158).

One or two quotations at the same question in the last Chapter illustrate the same point.

The matter of "slush" funds was again evident in the replies of three respondents:

Most don't know it exists...its not put up for grabs so this could be associated with good communication (Number 162).
 ...a certain amount of money is held within the office as a sort of slush fund. Departments who are "in" get access (Number 125).
 ...if you are talking about the fringe benefits there seems to be a fair amount of funds with flexibility (Number 135).

Prior to making this remark Number 125 had referred to the administrator's relative getting, "disproportionate help" for such things as attending conferences. The movement of funds to the relative was put in a very pointed way by Number 106 at question 19:

We had two support positions struck from the program this year because of budgeting things and at the same time funds mysteriously appear

for staff development in the case of "X".¹ This sort of thing is pretty difficult to accept.

Finally there is the administrative point of view:

If needs are communicated they will be considered (Number 176).

Summary Note

In the last Section there is good evidence to support the presence of an influential or consultative group close to the Principal. In the main this was perceived to be the formal group at the upper level of the college hierarchy but it is not a group in the cohesive sense. There were also indications that the Principal was rather remote, even from this group, and that persons of lower formal rank than Head of Department had disproportionate influence on the Principal. This kind of influence implies an oligarchical orientation. A relationship between high communication and high influence on the Principal was not generally perceived but high allocations were reasonably clearly associated with high communication. Both slush funds and high allocation to the administrator's relative were again mentioned.

DEPENDENT: SUMMARY OF EVIDENCE

The Dependent allocations of Best Situational Rewards, and the other two types were not clearly identified in

¹ The person was referred to by relationship to a specific administrator at this point.

association with this group. However, the data do suggest a similar pattern of allocation. The Integrative relationship was clearly associated with a certain group at Warriston but not a cohesive group. The lack of cohesion may be associated with a remote authoritarian stance taken by the Principal. In general the group identified in the Integrative relationship was the senior administrative staff of the college but a few others whose rank was not particularly high, also appeared to have a similar kind of relationship. Thus the top echelon of the college hierarchy does not represent the Dependent group. The evidence on one Department, Beta Studies, acting in a Dependent role is inconclusive. Other groups mentioned by respondents, such as conservatives and older staff, do not appear to fit the Dependent description. The size of this group matches the size proposed in the theory. It was reasonably well confirmed that low conflict and influence on the Principal were associated with the Dependents. It was also found that a relationship existed between high communication and influence on the Principal but not high communication and the allocation of resources.

There was more limited evidence on a number of other matters. It was claimed that a slush fund operated at the college. The manner of operation is in accord with the theory. A few persons of relatively low formal rank can be associated with some of the Dependent descriptors. The finding in Chapter 6 that the Head of one Department, Gamma

Studies, appeared to be an Independent means that all of the Heads of Department do not have the same classification in the tripartite theory. Preferential allocations to one Department, Beta Studies, was suggested but it is not known whether or not other aspects of the Dependent were associated with this Department.

The Matrix I persons viewed preference in allocation to be associated with favouritism but the Matrix II persons claimed it resulted from initiative. Matrix II persons did not perceive preference as frequently as Matrix I staff.

Two persons, Numbers 111 and 129, can be identified as Dependents at Warriston. Both of these persons are senior administrators. Several others such as Number 133, could be suggested as being Dependents but part of the information needed for confident identification is not available. For example, Number 133 fits most of the Dependent descriptors but his influence on the Principal is not known. The administrator's relative could also be suggested as a Dependent.

FINAL ASPECTS OF ANALYSIS

The main statements of evidence have been given but it is now desirable to consider three further matters relating to the evidence. These are, a re-examination of Matrix I and Matrix II, a note on language in the categories, and a statement of interlocking aspects of the model.

Matrices I and II Reconsidered

As far as the two points of view apparent in the Matrices are concerned it may be accepted that there are large stocks of beliefs which individuals simply take over and use at their convenience (Gibson, 1960:78). It is, however, pertinent to consider the authenticity of the responses and respondents in the Matrices. In both cases the visible spectacular examples may be regarded with some reserve. Number 133 of Matrix II, demonstrated problem denial, a mechanism of defence and Number 125 showed considerable resentment against the college administration. Career involvement is a recognized barrier to spontaneity in communication and it is quite evident in the material that this was in operation in many Matrix II responses. A tendency to stalling and circumlocution at some questions on the part of Matrix II persons was also evident. This was particularly noticeable at question 19 but it occurred elsewhere. Although it is not apparent in the responses quoted, Numbers 129 and 176 had a tendency to contradict themselves in questions dealing with allocations. Number 176 even exhibited a certain amount of trauma at one point as he

apparently noted unevenness in allocations at the college for the first time. It may be argued that exasperation with the administration on the part of Matrix I persons constituted a barrier to authenticity. However, in spite of possible exasperation, almost all of the Matrix I information was given in a calm and apparently thoughtful manner. Their statements are coherent and cohesive throughout. The Matrix I persons come closer to Osborn's "scientific, illustrated, rational testimony." They gave the impression of having made an adaptation to an authoritarian situation and of having gained insights in the process. If this is the case, more weight may be attached to the Matrix I responses and this strengthens the evidence in support of the tripartite categorization of staff.

Language as an Indirect Indicator of Categories

A note may be made at this point on language in the Matrices. Birk and Birk (1972, 11-12) state that one of the intentions of communication is to persuade and convince. It appeared that persons in both Matrices engaged in this in some questions and these responses sometimes revealed a particular use of language. The Matrix persons appeared to be aware of the point of view of the persons in the other Matrix and they sometimes used terms of disparagement to refer to it. A "goodie-bag" of resources was denied by Matrix II but claimed to be in existence by Matrix I. "Tittle-tattle," "getting shot down," can be contrasted to "trust," and "innuendo" as a sanction in Matrix II

discussions of the same or similar processes. Most of these examples are from the few respondents who have been placed in one of the three categories. It may be the case that the categories of staff have a fairly fixed set of terms which they use to justify the actions of their own group and discredit the activities of the other group or groups.

Interlocking Propositions

The most important anomaly revealed in the model at Warriston is that the Dependent and the Independent categories did not appear as cohesive groups. Other than this there is a lot of direct and indirect support for the theory. The fragmentary evidence, including statements which turned up without specific questions, provide traces which constitute additional interlocking propositions in support of the main clusters of information on the theory. The staff at Warriston appeared to know who would be in conflict with who and who would not participate in that conflict; who would be sent to a prestigious conference; who would be subjected to informal sanctions; the way many of the resources would be allocated; who had influence over the Principal and who had little or no influence; or, it may be said that they had fixed ideas on these things.

These interlocking propositions suggest that the model is a complete entity. It is doubtful if other categories of staff could be admitted without major disruption of the theory, although sub-categories are quite possible.

CHAPTER 8

RECOMMENDATIONS

This Chapter deals with the final matters of the study. An evaluation of the schedule is followed by an overview of the study which includes a summary of conclusions. The conclusions are presented in a manner which attempts to scan the whole model and identify areas which have been verified. There are two important matters in a short concluding discussion and a statement of recommendations.

EVALUATION OF THE INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

Section 1. Leader's Dependency

Question 1.

This was a useful introductory question. It caused respondents to reflect on divisions within the staff and on different attitudes within it towards the administration. Questions 2, 3, and 4.

These questions constitute a set dealing with the identification of a middle group of staff and the degree to which the Principal was dependent on this group. They were very effective questions though question 4 did have a rather high number of indeterminate responses. The Interdependent group was more readily identified than had been expected and this may have been a result of these precise questions.

Section 2. Relationship with Leader

Question 5.

This question was also answered very readily by many

respondents. It did have quite a high number of indeterminate responses and it was essential for the interviewer to emphasize the second part of each of the three descriptors. A few respondents interpreted "exchange" as exchange of conversation. The question is also direct and suggestive.

Question 6

This was a useful question to provide initial information on cohesiveness.

Question 7.

This was the first "anchor" type question which attempted to relate two factors of the model. At least one of these factors was always either relationship with leader or allocation of resources. In general these important questions were not particularly successful as the number of indeterminate responses tended to be high. They were probably too demanding on the respondents. Question 7 may have been simplified by referring more directly to a middle group of staff.

Section 3. Rewards and their Allocation

Question 8.

The approach to investigation of the categorization of resources was not successful. This applies particularly to questions 8 and 11 and as a result of this question 13 was also a failure. The respondents did not perceive three categories of resources but only a small number rejected the

idea that resources fell into categories. In addition one particular resource, nomination to attend a prestigious conference, was clearly seen as being applicable to certain persons. Alternative means of questioning can be considered in this important area and these means include: dealing with a few resources and asking about who gets them and who does not get them, describing the categories of resources and asking about their applicability, providing a written list of resources and giving respondents time to reflect on their relative importance and possible groupings.

There was a tendency for respondents to give too much emphasis to material resources in all questions which dealt directly with resources.

Questions 9 and 10

These questions were dealing with very similar things. The basis of allocation was generally apparent from question 9.

Question 12.

This question immediately caught the attention and interest of most respondents. The level of prediction was higher than expected and the responses constitute a qualitative indicator of a more important phenomenon which was hidden to some extent. Respondents could also be asked who would not be sent to a conference.

Question 14.

This was the most successful of the anchor type questions but it did not reveal a middle level of allocations.

Section 4. Conflict

Questions 15 and 16.

These were effective introductory questions to conflict on the staff. It is important to be sure that all respondents were referring to conflicts of some significance in the later questions of the Section. A weakness in these two questions, and in the next two, is that they do not distinguish between overt and covert disagreements.

Question 17.

This was a useful and successful question.

Question 18.

This was a useful and successful question. A probe could be considered to make direct reference to distant and close groups of staff.

Question 19

Like question 12, this question was obviously of immediate interest to most of the respondents. It was a question which again appeared to indicate the presence of an important phenomenon which was partially concealed. It is important to distinguish between reprimands which are delivered as sanctions and those which are delivered as friendly professional advice.

Question 20.

This was the least successful of the anchor type questions. There were ten indeterminate responses to this question.

Section 5. Cohesiveness

Question 21.

This was a useful and successful question. A few persons did refer to successful influence attempts of an out-group. This was action contrary to the direction of the Principal's administrative practice.

Question 22.

This was a useful and successful question but again a probe may be considered to give more direct relevance to the group of staff of the theory.

Question 23.

This was a useful and successful question.

Question 24.

This was a useful question but the interviewer must be alert to the difference between persons engaged in paper battles and those who have a simple preference for the use of memos.

Question 25.

There were nine indeterminate responses to this question. It could possibly be clarified by being restrutured as two questions.

Question 26.

This was a reasonably successful anchor type question.

OVERVIEW OF THE STUDY

Purpose

The purpose of this study was to develop a model of organizational staff as a tripartite categorization and to carry out initial investigation of this model.

Nature of the Study

The study was conceived to be exploratory in nature. Care was taken throughout to organize and carry it out with these considerations in mind. The justification for the study, conceptual framework, methodology, and kind of statements of evidence, all reflect this approach.

Conceptual Framework

The conceptual framework was preceded by a literature review which identified two basic approaches in organizational theory, the harmonious approach, which is characteristic of most organizational theorists, and the conflict approach. The present study is of the latter type and this provided a focus of departure from traditional theory. Conflict was presented as an important aspect of the tripartite categorization.

A categorization of resources and an analysis of type of authority relationship were described as fundamental to the categorization of staff. Three kinds of resources were described, Best Situational Rewards, Other Situational Rewards, and Established Rights. Three kinds of relationship

were also described, Integrative, Exchange, and Threat. The categories of staff were defined by reference to these two factors. The Dependent gets all three kinds of resources and is in an Integrative relationship with the leader; the Interdependent gets Other Situational Rewards and is in an Exchange relationship; and the Independent gets Established Rights and is in a Threat relationship.

The development of the framework also described the state of conflict of each group and this was integrated into the categorization as well as a number of other variables. The most important of these is the Leader's Dependency on the middle or Interdependent Group of staff. Cohesiveness of groups was also discussed and given emphasis in the framework. Conflict, Cohesiveness, and Leader's Dependency were used as three main indirect indicators of the categorization and groups of further variables were associated with them at various levels and states for each category of staff. Ingratiation, informal sanction, and alienation were associated with conflict. Groupthink, communication, and promotion, were associated with Cohesiveness. Stability, legitimacy of authority, and obedience, were associated with Leader's Dependency.

The discussion of these variables culminated in the presentation of a model which summarized the theory.

Statements of problems appropriate to the investigation were drawn from the model.

Methodology

The methodology involved the construction of an interview schedule. Open-ended questions were developed from the problem statements. The questions were based on the respondent's perception of the staff, divisions in it, and administrative actions. The questions were pilot tested and the schedule adjusted. The investigation was carried out in one college in which the responses of thirty-seven staff members were recorded.

Analysis and Presentation of Data

Systematic treatment of the data involved the identification of the basic point in each reply and its allocation to three categories, acceptance of the proposal in the question, rejection of proposal, or indeterminate. However, some questions and probes simply gathered information on such matters as the size of groups as perceived by the participants. Comparison of response was used in the analysis of data and for this purpose two basic viewpoints of the respondents were identified and defined. Matrix I persons had a spectrum of characteristics associated with a conflict view of the organization and Matrix II had a spectrum associated with the harmonious view. This axis of comparison could now be used along with the acceptor-rejector axis.

In the presentation of the data extensive use was made of quotation and the basic implications of these quotations were repeatedly placed in summaries at appropriate points in

the three chapters of analysis.

The open-ended questions did reveal traces of certain other aspects of the theory and model for which no specific questions had been constructed. In addition a few other matters, such as the possible use of particular language in group interaction and group reference to another group, came to light.

Summary of Conclusions

1. The main conclusion of this exploratory study is that sufficient evidence of the tripartite categorization of staff was found, at the college under investigation, to warrant further testing and development of the theory.

2. More information is required on the tripartite categorization of resources as it was not possible to gain adequate information on the relationship between categories of resources and categories of staff in this study. This applies especially to the Interdependent class of staff.

3. A preferential allocation of resources can be associated with the Dependent group and a discriminatory allocation with the Independent group.

4. The three kinds of relationship with the leader appeared to be operative at Warriston and both allocation of resources and relationship with the leader were associated with each other and with other descriptors of the categories to some extent.

5. Conflict was a useful indicator of the groups of staff. A high level of conflict was associated with the

distant Independent group; low conflict with the close Dependent group; and mediation of conflict with the Interdependent group.

6. Neither the Dependent nor the Independent groups of staff appeared to be cohesive at Warriston. Cohesion may have been given too much emphasis in the theory and type of staff may be more appropriate than group of staff.

7. The pattern of communication found at Warriston supports the theory. Independents were involved in one important form of formal communication and an influential or consultative group close to the Principal was found, but it could not be associated with high informal communication.

8. The Leader's Dependency on a middle group of staff was quite apparent and this was associated with persons in the Exchange relationship.

9. Other indicators of the categories, most of which were already in the model were identified and associated with the relevant group to some extent. This includes ingratiation in the Dependent group; alienation, nonrealistic conflict, and encouragement of instability in the Independent group; and a concern for stability in the Interdependent group.

10. It was only confirmed, to a limited extent, that respondents in making reference to the attributes of a group of staff or persons in a group, were referring to the same persons.

OTHER CONSIDERATIONS

Diagnostic Property of the Schedule

The investigation at Warriston suggests that the schedule has some potential as an indicator of the efficient use of organizational resources. The three categories of staff at Warriston did not appear to be in a stable and effective equilibrium. There was a tendency for the Interdependent group to join forces, at times, with the Independents and for this latter group to be perceived as rather large. This suggests that the use of resources for reward of those close to the Principal was higher than it should have been. Thus fewer resources were available for the education of the students or for allocation elsewhere. In addition the use of sanctions appeared to be quite extensive and this will not serve to re-align the equilibrium of the groups more effectively as the Interdependents had too much sympathy for the Independents. These few remarks indicate how the theory could be used to construct a detailed strategy for a more effective use of resources.

One aspect of good administration in the tripartite theory is a sound and easily managed equilibrium among the three categories of staff. If excessive amounts of energy have to be put into the maintenance of this equilibrium by the administration and staff then the organization will be diverted from its stated goals. Innovation will also be very difficult to accomplish. Attempts to eliminate the least

satisfied group of staff, the Independents, or any other group, are equivalent to attempts to eliminate the functional hierarchy of the organization. This is not feasible in the modern organization. In addition, the least satisfied group is not necessarily the least productive.

Association with other Studies

Two studies are discussed below. One relates to the results, and the other to the theory, of the present study. Bennis (1958) The findings of the present study are in accord with the results of the study of hospital staff carried out by Bennis. In the conclusions Bennis noted that; the staff did what they were rewarded for doing, that power did not reside in established formal position, and that supervisors were not fully aware of the reward possibilities of those below them. The substance of these findings is strongly suggested in the present study. However, the Independents at Warriston were not within a system of doing what they were rewarded for doing. There were also indications of strong influence on the Principal, and thus the organization, of persons of relatively low rank. A re-alignment of the reward and sanction system would be part of the strategy of bringing the groups at Warriston into equilibrium. It has been suggested, for example, that the Principal placed too much emphasis on the rewards of the Dependents.

Witkin and Goodenough (1977) At the theoretical level consideration may be given to an association between the

tripartite theory and the theory of field-dependent and field-independent cognitive styles. The differentiation of these styles is related basically to differences in self-nonsel self segregation. This in turn has relevance for the use of the field outside of self as a referent for behavior (Witkin and Goodenough, 1977:661). The field-dependent person has certain similarities to the Dependent and the field-independent has affiliations with the Independent. Witkin and Goodenough have provided an extensive review of this theoretical area but only a few characteristics of the two types discussed by them need be considered at present.

The field-dependent has an interpersonal orientation and he has attributes which would enable him to get along with others. In addition the field-dependent avoids hostility, is sensitive to social cues, and makes use of external referents in ambiguous situations. These characteristics are less evident in the field-independent who is characterized by autonomy, self-reliance, and less effective interpersonal skills.

The field-dependence concept may provide valuable support of the tripartite theory as well as relating it to other theoretical areas of importance. Reliable tests of field-dependence are available.

This study only came to the writer's attention at the end of the research project.

RECOMMENDATIONS FOR FURTHER RESEARCH

The next steps in research of the tripartite categorization are quite clearly indicated as a result of this study. They may be stated as follows:

1. An improved version of the interview schedule should be used in a number of colleges or schools to provide further investigation of basic aspects of the theory.

2. Investigations should be carried out in several countries in order to broaden the scope of the study.

3. When the results of several investigations are available comparative considerations can be applied to the theory in order to provide further evaluation of it.

4. The implications of an association between the tripartite theory and the theory of field-dependence should be carefully considered. If it is concluded that an association may exist, tests of field-dependence can be carried out and a relationship sought between subjects identified by this means, and subjects identified as Dependent, Interdependents, and Independents, by other means.

5. Future testing should consider aspects of the model not tested in this study. This includes groupthink, legitimacy of authority, and the use of "group" language. However, the categories may be considered as types rather than groups.

6. New means should be sought to test the categorization of resources.

7. The diagnostic possibilities of the theory should be evaluated as more studies are carried out. The use of resources as indicated by the tripartite theory should be compared to other measures of the use of resources.

8. Ethnographic enquiry is another approach to research which may be utilized at the present stage. Due to the subtle nature of certain aspects of the theory this may be particularly appropriate.

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APPENDIX A

1. TEXT OF A LETTER GIVEN TO THE PRINCIPAL OF WARRISTON
COLLEGE ON AN INTRODUCTORY VISIT.
2. TEXT OF A LETTER CIRCULATED TO THE STAFF AT WARRISTON
COLLEGE PRIOR TO THE COLLECTION OF DATA.

TEXT OF A LETTER GIVEN TO THE PRINCIPAL OF WARRISTON COLLEGE
ON AN INTRODUCTORY VISIT

Abstract of Study.

D. H. Allan, Department of Educational Administration,
University of Alberta, Edmonton. (Phone, 403. 432.3094)

General.

The study is carried out under the auspices of the Department of Educational Administration for the doctoral thesis. The chairman of the research committee is Dr. L. Gue and the other two members of this committee are Dr. R. Bryce and Dr. C. Bumbarger both of the Department of Educational Administration. It is hoped that the study will be completed this year.

Problem.

This is an exploratory study which will probe for the existence of certain variables rather than seeking relationships between variables or making predictions from sample to population. The areas to be investigated are staff perceptions of the allocation of resources within the organization and staff perceptions of certain aspects of administrative relationships.

Requirement from the College.

The co-operation of about 40 staff members is required. Each will be asked to respond individually to an interview schedule taking about one hour per respondent. Instructional staff including heads of departments or sections and Vice-

principal or Vice-presidents are suitable respondents. The 40 staff will probably be selected by random sample from the total instructional staff but if the total staff is only about 40 all may be asked to respond. The questions, about 20 in number, are open-ended and replies may be short or, detailed to some degree as seen to be appropriate by the respondent. Other than the possibility of some contact later to clarify a few responses during the analysis of the data this is the total required in-put of the college staff. If this clarification is necessary it would probably be carried out by phone.

Reporting and Follow-up.

Unless a specific acknowledgement is requested the college will not be identified in the thesis. It will be given either as an Alberta college or a Canadian college. Neither respondents nor other staff members will be identified in the thesis. The material to be analysed deals with the organization and administration of the college rather than its specific curriculum or activities. It will not be possible to generalize from the given study to other organizations.

I will be happy to re-visit the college after the data has been analysed to engage in discussion of the findings and their implications.

TEXT OF A LETTER CIRCULATED TO THE STAFF AT WARRISTON
COLLEGE PRIOR TO THE COLLECTION OF DATA

FROM: The Principal.

TO: All Teaching Staff.

We have received a request from a graduate student, David Allan, at the University of Alberta to be involved in a study for a doctoral thesis. I believe the information generated will be useful to Warriston College, therefore I would encourage ycu to participate.

The study is exploratory and will attempt to investigate staff perceptions of (a) the allocation of resources within the college and (b) certain aspects of administrative relationships.

Approximately 40 staff members are required. Each will be asked to respond individually to an interview schedule taking about one hour. Neither individuals participating nor the college will be identified in the thesis.

I realize that most of you are busy, however Mr. Allan can be here at the college over several weeks, so can accomodate your schedule. He would like to begin Monday, June 6. I would therefore, ask all persons willing to participate to please indicate to your Department Head, the day and hour that you would be a ailable for an interview.

Thank you for your assistance.

Principal.

B30205